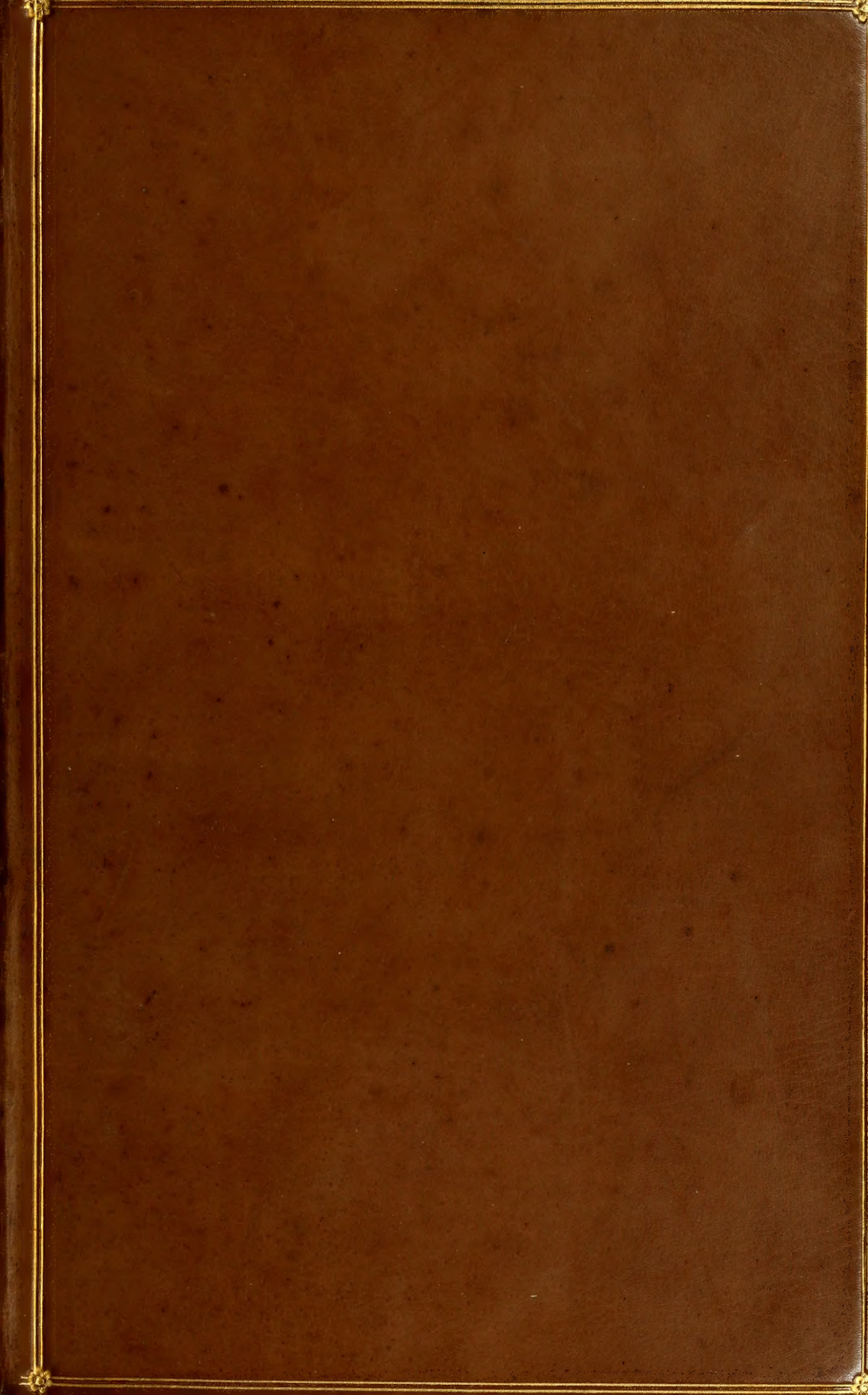
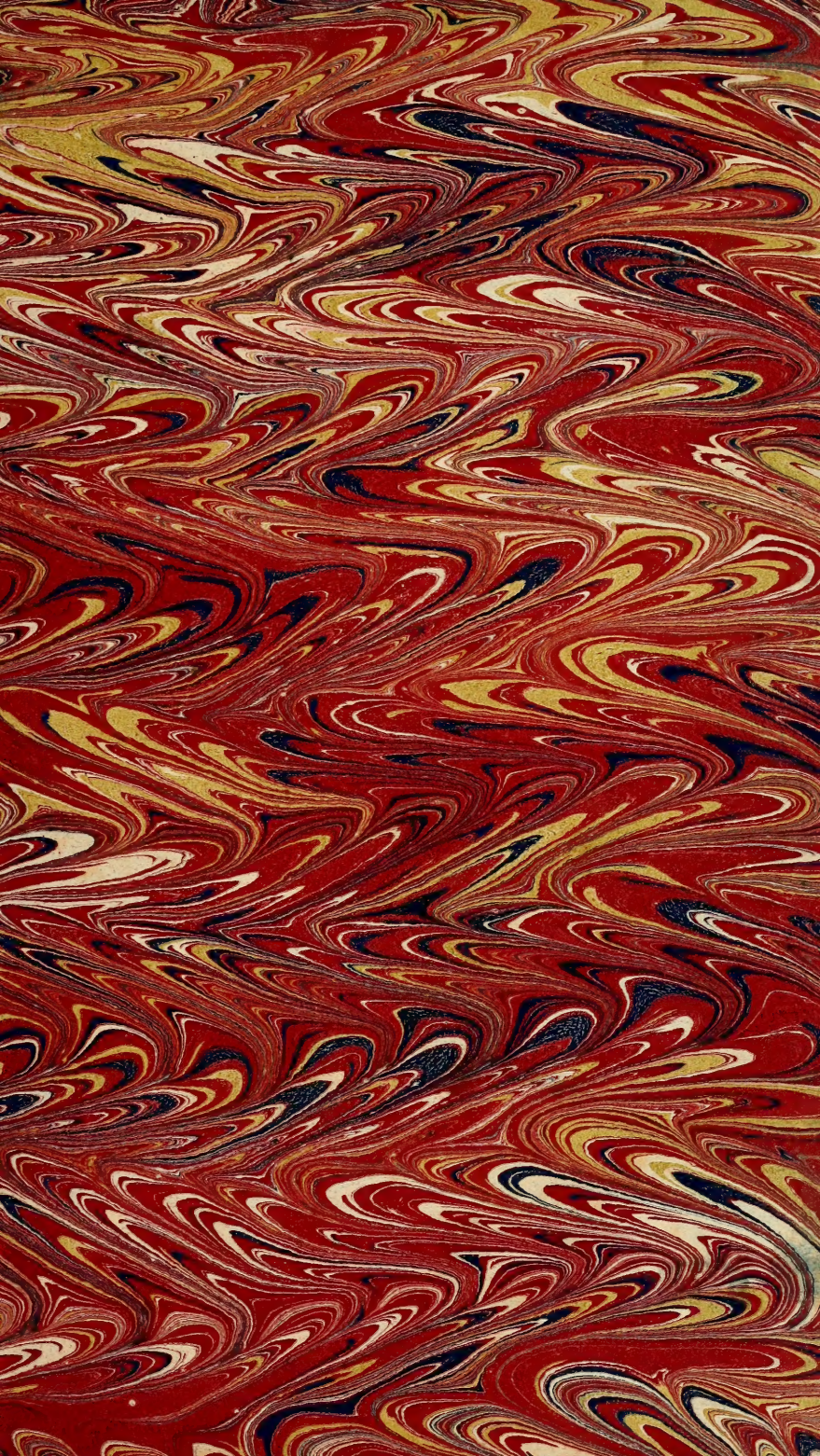


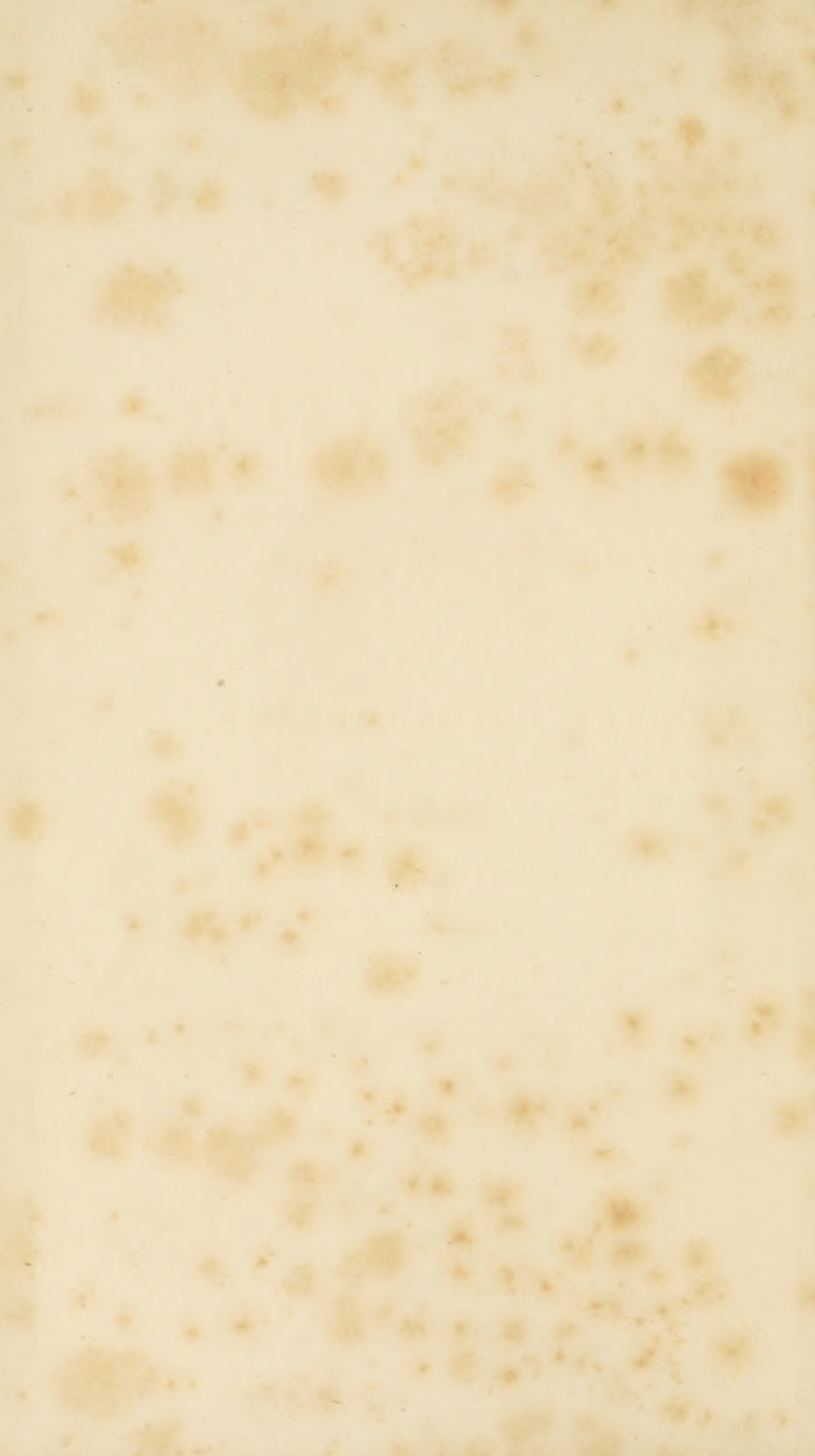






1761

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A
GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL
DESCRIPTION
OF
ANCIENT ITALY;

WITH
A MAP, AND A PLAN OF ROME.

BY
THE REV. J. A. CRAMER, M. A.
LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem,
Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis:
Fluminaque antiquos præterlabentia muros.

GEORG. II. 155.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS,
MDCCCXXVI.

4
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PREFACE.

AS Italy, from its political circumstances, has always afforded greater facilities to the traveller and topographer for exploring the remains of antiquity with which it abounds, than Greece and Asia Minor, its rivals in celebrity and classical interest, it is reasonable to expect that its comparative geography should in consequence be better understood and more definitively settled, than that of either of those two countries. Nor will this expectation prove groundless, when we examine the materials possessed by the geographer for constructing a map illustrative of the ancient condition and history of Italy, every part having now been so thoroughly investigated by foreign as well as native antiquaries, that there is hardly a site of any historical importance which has not been identified with sufficient accuracy and precision. From thence it is obvious, that the writer who follows so beaten a track must renounce all hope of communicating original information, and content himself with the humbler, though not less useful task, of giving publicity to the researches of others ; and

thus, by collecting what is detached and dispersed, endeavour to condense knowledge and simplify instruction. This in fact has been the author's object in the work now presented to the public; having himself experienced the want of a compendious, yet more than elementary guide to the topographical and classical antiquities of a country so universally admired, he was induced to form the design of supplying, in some degree, that deficiency for the benefit of others.

Since the publication of the *Italia Antiqua* of Cluverius, no detailed work on the same subject has, I believe, appeared, either in this country or on the continent; that book therefore still continues to be the great repertory from which the critic, as well as the tourist, derives his information on the classical geography of Italy. But highly valuable as this elaborate compilation must always be accounted, it cannot be denied that the vast fund of learning which it contains might be rendered more generally accessible and useful, by being reduced to a less bulky and antiquated form. Its size indeed necessarily precludes it from obtaining a place in the traveller's library, while the language in which it is written, being now no longer the common medium of instruction, must, to

the English student at least, give it the character of a book of reference, rather than one of general use. The *Italia Antiqua*, which was itself published in an unfinished state, received, not many years after its appearance, numerous emendations in the shape of notes, from the pen of Lucas Holstenius, the fellow-traveller of Cluverius; who, from his own subsequent researches and long residence in Italy, was enabled to correct and improve in many points the labours of that geographer, especially with regard to the measurements of distances; Cluverius not having been sufficiently careful to distinguish between the ancient and modern Italian miles, whereas six of the former are only equivalent to five of the latter. The advance which has since been made in the comparative geography of Italy, if we except the names of Cellarius, D'Anville, and the Abbé Chaupy, is to be attributed chiefly to the industry of native antiquaries; such as Durandi, Oderigo, and Filiasi, in the northern provinces; Fabretti, Corradini, Volpi, and Nibby, in Latium; Pratilli, Mazzocchi, Antonini, and Romanelli, in Campania, Samnium, and Magna Græcia. From these authorities, as well as from those writers who have each described the antiquities of his own particular city and its district, I

have derived most of the topographical information contained in these volumes. The latter class is very numerous, as almost every place remarkable in ancient times has thus furnished matter for a separate dissertation ; many of these, however, I have been unable to procure, while several on the other hand have been found to contain nothing that repaid the trouble of perusing them.

As the study of ancient geography can only be deemed useful from its connexion with history, it seemed desirable to render the present publication especially illustrative of that more important branch of knowledge ; and by a frequent reference to the classical writers of antiquity, to give it a greater interest than it could have laid claim to as a work of mere topographical nomenclature. I have therefore attempted to embody the mass of quotations, collected by Cluverius, with those I could add to their number, so as to exhibit a succinct but connected account of each people and city as they occur in geographical order, taking care at the same time always to refer the reader to the original text, of which I more commonly present him only with the substance ; although in some passages of peculiar interest a literal translation has been supplied. But as the poetical

citations would of course lose much of their value by being rendered in a different language, they have been retained in the words of the author from whence they are selected. The advantage of such a plan was long since pointed out by a writer who had studied with great attention the antiquities of Italy, with a view of giving to the world the result of his labours, and who would have been far more competent to do justice to the subject—I allude to Gibbon : that historian, however, did not complete his intention, having only prepared for the purpose a small body of notes and extracts, which have been published in the third volume of his miscellaneous works.

However copiously the topography of ancient Rome may have been treated of by others, it ought not for that reason to be passed over unnoticed in a general description of Italy ; and as the *Roma Antica* of Nardini still maintains its superiority among the books that have been written on that head, I imagined that I should best consult the advantage of the antiquarian student, by furnishing him with an epitome of that valuable work, taken from the improved edition published in 1818 by Antonio Nibby, a name well known to those who have visited Rome.

The plan of the city, which will be found at the end of this volume, has been copied, with some slight variations, from that prefixed to Nibby's edition.

I have now only to add, that the map which is destined to accompany these volumes has been chiefly arranged on the basis of that of modern Italy by Orgiazzi, compared with Arrowsmith's and other maps, which have been more recently published in France and Italy. General perspicuity in the physical delineation of the country has been more attended to than minuteness of detail in the subordinate parts; and with a view of rendering it further serviceable to the purposes of history, references have been inserted to those military events which may be considered more particularly deserving of notice; such as memorable battles, together with Hannibal's operations during his first four campaigns. The principal Roman ways are also traced according to the Itineraries, and as far as it was possible to identify them, modern names have been subjoined to ancient sites, mountains, and rivers.

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INDEX TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF ROME.

The reader is referred to the following editions of those ancient writers who are cited most frequently in the course of the work.

- Appianus, Schweighæuser, 8vo. Lips. 1785.
Athenæus, Schweighæuser, 8vo. Argent. 1804.
Cæsar, Oudendorp, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1737.
Cicero, Olivet, 4to. Paris. 1740.
Claudianus, Burmann, 4to. Amstel. 1760.
Diodorus Siculus, Wesseling, fol. Amstel. 1746.
Dionysius Halicarn. Reiske, 8vo. Lips. 1774.
Festus, in usum Delph. 4to. Amstel. 1699.
Florus, Dukeri et var. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1744.
Herodotus, Schweighæuser, 8vo. Argent. 1816.
Horatius, Gesner, 8vo. Lond. 1809.
Livius, Crevier, 4to. Paris. 1735.
Lucanus, Oudendorp, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1728.
Lycophron, Reichard et Müller, 8vo. Lips. 1788.
Martialis Scriverii, 8vo. Elz. Amstel. 1650.
Mela, Gronovii et var. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1748.
Ovidius, Burmann, 4to. Amstel. 1727.
Plinius, Harduini in usum Delph. Paris. 1685.
Polybius, Schweighæuser, 8vo. Lips. 1789.
Ptolemæus, Bertii, fol. Lugd. Bat. 1618.
Rutilius inter Poet. Lat. Min. Burmann, 4to. Leid. 1713.
Scylax } inter Geogr. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Hudson,
Scymnus Chius } 8vo. Oxon. 1698.
Silius Italicus, Drakenborch, 4to. Traj. ad Rhen. 1717.
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Stephanus Byzantinus, Berkelii cum not. L. Holstenii, fol. Lugd. Bat. 1694.
Strabo, Almelooven, fol. Amstel. 1707. (The paging according to the Paris edition by Casaubon.)
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Tacitus, Brotier, 4to. Paris. 1771.
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Velleius Paterculus, Vossii, Lugd. Bat. Elz. 1639.
Virgilius, cum Comment. Servii, 4to. Leovard. 1717.





SECTION I.

ANCIENT ITALY.

Its various names—Boundaries and principal geographical features
—Soil and climate—Early population—Divisions.

WITHOUT entering minutely into the examination of the several appellations which Italy appears to have borne in distant ages, it may be stated generally, that the name of Hesperia was first given to it by the Greeks on account of its relative position to their country, and that with those of Ausonia and Saturnia it is more commonly met with in the poets.

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ.
ÆN. I. 530.

Multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant
Ausonia— ID. VII. 54.
Fama per Ausoniæ turbatas spargitur urbes.
SIL. ITAL. IV. 1.

Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virum— GEORG. II. 173.

Cf. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. 35.

The name of Œnotria, derived from the ancient race of the Œnotri, seems also to have been early in use among the Greeks, (Herod. I. 167. Aristot. Polit. VII. 10.) but it was applied by them to that southern portion of Italy only with which they were then acquainted. That of Italia is thought to have been

deduced from *Italus*, a chief of the *Ænotri*, or *Siculi*. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Dion. Hal. I. 12. Thuc. VI. 2.) Others again sought the origin of the name in the Greek word *ἰταλός*, or the Latin *vitulus*, which corresponds with it. (Varr. R. Rust. II. 5. Dion. Hal. I. 35.) But whatever circumstance may have given rise to it, we are told that this also was only at first a partial denomination, applied originally to that southern extremity of the boot which is confined between the gulfs of *St. Euphemia* and *Squillace*, anciently *Lameticus*, and *Scylleticus Sinus*, (Aristot. Polit. VII. 10. Strab. VI. 254.) It is well known, however, that in process of time it superseded every other appellation, and finally extended itself over the whole peninsula. This is generally allowed to have taken place in the reign of Augustus, and we may therefore fix upon that period as most convenient for defining the ancient boundaries of Italy. At that time it appears that the Maritime Alps, or that part of the chain which dips into the *gulf of Genoa*, the ancient *Mare Ligusticum*, formed its extreme boundary to the north-west^a. The same great chain sweeping round to the head of the Adriatic, was considered as constituting, as it does now, its northern termination. The city of *Tergeste*, now *Trieste*, had been reckoned the farthest point to the north-

^a In later times this western limit of Italy was removed to the river *Varus*, which, under the modern name of *Var*, now separates France from the county of Nice. (Strab. V. 209. Plin. III. 4.) Cluverius has adopted this latter boundary, but D'Anville contends, that till within a few centuries the county of

Nice always formed part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and therefore excludes it from the limits of ancient Italy. It is plain also that the trophy of Augustus, placed on the Maritime Alps, marks the limit which that emperor intended to fix. D'Anville, Anal. Géogr. de l'Italie, p. 279.

east, till the province of Histria was included by Augustus within the limits of Italy, which were then removed in that direction to the little river *Arsia*, *l' Arsa*.

The sea that bounded the western coast of Italy bore the several names of *Mare Inferum*, *Tyrrhenum*, and *Etruscum*; while those of *Mare Superum*, *Hadriaticum*, or *Hadriacum*, were attached to the eastern or *Adriatic* sea.

Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat æquor.

ÆN. I. 67.

An mare quod supra memorem, quodque alluit infra.

GEORG. II. 158.

Amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas.

ÆN. XI. 405.

The latter was known to the Greeks by the name of 'Αδρία, (Herod. I. 163.) or 'Ιόνιος κόλπος, (Thuc. I. 24.) but they seem to have understood by the name of *Ionicum* mare, that portion of it which lies between the south of Italy, taken from the Iapygian promontory, and Peloponnesus. The narrow strait, which separates the extremity of Italy from Sicily, received its appellation from that island; but it was not confined to this arm alone, since we find the name of *Mare Siculum* applied to the waters which washed the south western coast of Greece. (Strab. II. 123. Plin. IV. 5.)

Ancient geographers appear to have entertained different ideas of the figure of Italy. Polybius considered it in its general form as being like a triangle, of which the two seas meeting at the promontory of *Cocynthus*, *Capo di Stilo*, as the vertex, formed the sides, and the Alps the base. (Polyb. II. 14.) But Strabo is more exact in his delineation,

and observes, that its shape bears more resemblance to a quadrilateral than a triangular figure, with its outline rather irregular than rectilineal. (Strab. V. 210.) Pliny describes it in shape as similar to an elongated oak leaf, and terminating in a crescent, the horns of which would be the promontories of Leucopetra, *Capo dell' Armi*, and Lacinium, *Capo delle Colonne*. (Plin. III. 5.) The same idea is thus expressed by the poet Rutilius in his Itinerary, II. 17.

Italiam rerum dominam, qui cingere visu
 Et totam pariter cernere mente velit;
 Inveniet quernæ similem procedere frondi
 Arctatam laterum conveniente sinu.
 In latum variis damnosa anfractibus intrat
 Tyrrheni rabies Hadriacique sali.

According to Pliny, the length of Italy from Augusta Prætoria, *Aosta*, at the foot of the Alps to Rhegium, the other extremity, was 1020 miles; but this distance was to be estimated not in a direct line, but by the great road which passed through Rome and Capua. (Plin. III. 5.) The real geographical distance, according to the best maps, would scarcely furnish 600 modern Italian miles, of sixty to the degree; which are equal to about 700 ancient Roman miles. The same writer estimates its breadth from the Varus to the Arsia at 410 miles; between the mouths of the Tiber and Aternus at 136 miles: in the narrowest part between the Sinus Scylacius, *Golfo di Squillace*, and Sinus Terinæus, *Golfo di S. Eufemia*, at 20 miles. The little lake of Cutiliæ, near Reate, *Rieti*, in the Sabine country, was considered as the umbilicus or centre of Italy. (Plin. III. 12.)

In speaking of the general features of Italy, ancient writers have not failed to notice the length and direction of the Apennines. They have remarked, that this chain branching off from the Maritime Alps, in the neighbourhood of Genoa, runs diagonally from the Ligurian sea to the Adriatic, in the vicinity of Ancona; from thence continuing nearly parallel with the latter sea as far as the promontory of Garganus, *Gargano*, it again inclines to the Mare Inferum, till it finally terminates in the promontory of Leucopetra near Rhegium. (Polyb. II. 16. Strab. V. 211.) The following are the most remarkable poetical passages which relate to this celebrated chain.

Umbrosis mediam qua collibus Apenninus
 Erigit Italiam, nullo qua vertice tellus
 Altius intumuit, propiusque accessit Olympo.
 Mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas
 Inferni Superique maris: collesque coercent,
 Hinc Tyrrhena vado frangentes æquora Pisæ,
 Illinc Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.

LUCAN. II. 396.

Diversas medius mons obliquatur in undas
 Qua fert atque refert Phœbus uterque diem.
 Urget Dalmaticos Eoo vertice fluctus,
 Cæruleaque occiduis frangit Etrusca jugis.

RUTIL. ITIN. II. 27.

..... ad montes reliquo cum robore cessi,
 Quos Apenninum perhibent: hunc esse ferebat
 Incola, qui Siculum porrectus ad usque Pelorum,
 Finibus ab Ligurum populos complectitur omnes
 Italiæ; geminumque latus stringentia longe
 Utraque perpetuo discriminat æquora tractu.

CLAUD. PANEG. VI. CONS. HON. 285.

Horrebat glacie saxa inter lubrica, summo
 Piniferum cœlo miscens caput, Apenninus.

Condiderat nix alta trabes, et vertice celso
Canus apex structa surgebat ad astra pruina.

SIL. ITAL. IV. 743.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

ÆN. XII. 703.

Hæc ut Cocyti tenebras et Tartara liquit,
Alta petit gradiens juga nobilis Apennini,
Unde omnes terras, atque omnia litora posset
Aspicere, ac toto fluitantes orbe catervas.

PET. ARB. CARM. DE BELL. CIV. 277.

It has already been stated, that the great Alpine chain was considered as extending from the neighbourhood of *Marseilles* to the head of the Adriatic. It might be said to form a vast semicircle, of which the convex side was turned towards Gaul, the concave towards Italy. The Salassi, who occupied the present duchy of *Aosta*, were supposed to stand at the middle point of the circumference. The whole length of the chain was computed at 1000 miles, its breadth varying from 70 to 100. (Pol. II. 14. Strab. V. 211. Plin. III. 19.) It was not till the reign of Augustus that the Alps became well known. That emperor finally subdued the numerous and savage clans which inhabited the Alpine valleys, and cleared the passes of the banditti which infested them. He improved the old roads and constructed new ones; and finally succeeded in establishing a free and easy communication through these mountains. (Strab. IV. 204.) The whole of this great chain was then divided into seven portions, to each of which a separate name was assigned. These were, 1. The Maritime Alps, beginning from the environs of *Nice* to the

Mons Vesulus, *Monte Viso*. 2. The Cottian Alps, reaching from the last mentioned point to *Mont Cenis*. 3. The Graian Alps, lying between *Mont Iseran* and the *Little St. Bernard*, inclusively. 4. The Pennine Alps, extending from the *Great St. Bernard* to the sources of the Rhone and Rhine. 5. The Rhætic or Tridentine Alps, from the *St. Gothard*, whose numerous peaks bore the name of Adula, to *Mount Brenner* in the Tyrol. 6. The Noric Alps, from the latter point to the head of the river Plavis, *la Piave*. 7. The Carnic or Julian Alps, terminating in the Mons Albius on the confines of Illyricum. As each division will be more fully discussed in its respective place, I shall conclude this general notice of the Alps by bringing together, from the Roman poets, those passages which are most descriptive of their character and scenery.

Sed jam præteritos ultra meminisse labores
 Conspectæ propius demsere paventibus Alpes.
 Cuncta gelu canaque æternum grandine tecta
 Atque ævi glaciem cohibent: riget ardua montis
 Ætherei facies, surgentique obvia Phœbo
 Duratas nescit flammis mollires pruinas.
 Quantum Tartareus regni pallentis hiatus
 Ad manes imos atque atræ stagna paludis
 A supera tellure patet: tam longa per auras
 Erigitur tellus, et cœlum intercipit umbra.
 Nullum ver usquam, nullique ætatis honores.
 Sola jugis habitat diris, sedesque tuetur
 Perpetuas deformis hiems: illa undique nubes
 Huc atras agit, et mixtos cum grandine nimbos.
 Jam cuncti flatus ventique furentia regna
 Alpina posuere domo—caligat in altis
 Obtutus saxis, abeuntque in nubila montes.

SIL. ITAL. III. 478.

Alpibus aeriis, ubi Graio nomine, pulsæ
 Descendunt rupes, et se patiuntur adiri,
 Est locus Herculeis aris sacer, hunc nive dura
 Claudit hiems, canoque ad sidera vertice tollit,
 Cœlum illinc cecidisse putes; non Solis adulti
 Mansuescit radiis, non verni temporis aura:
 Sed glacie concreta rigens, hiemisque pruinis,
 Totum ferre potest humeris minitantibus orbem.

PET. ARB. CARM. DE. BELL. CIV. 145.

Sed latus Hesperiae quo Rhætia jungitur oræ,
 Præruptis ferit astra jugis, panditque tremendam
 Vix æstate viam—multi, ceu Gorgone visa,
 Obriguere gelu: multos hausere profundæ
 Vasta mole nives: cumque ipsis sæpe juvenis
 Naufraga candenti merguntur plaustra barathro.
 Interdum subitam, glacie labente, ruinam
 Mons dedit, et tepidis fundamina subruit Austris,
 Pendenti male fida solo—

CLAUDIAN. DE BELL. GET. 345.

It might be expected, that the classical authors of Rome would dwell with fondness on the peculiar advantages enjoyed by their favoured country. Accordingly we find a variety of passages, which Cluverius has collected in his fifth chapter *De Natura cœli solique Italici ac laudibus ejus*, where the happy qualities of its soil and climate, the variety and abundance of its productions, the resources of every kind which it possesses, are proudly and eloquently displayed. Those that seem principally deserving of notice are one from Pliny, (Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 13.) beginning with, “Ergo in toto orbe et
 “quacunque cœli convexitas vergit, pulcherrima est
 “omnium, rebusque merito principatum naturæ ob-
 “tinens Italia, reatrix parensque mundi altera.” Another from Strabo, VI. 286. This judicious writer

looking to its political advantages, thinks it was designed to govern the world. “It is defended by the sea and almost impassable mountains. Its harbours are capacious and excellent. The variety of its climate causes a corresponding diversity in its productions, both animal and vegetable: added to which resources, its situation, with respect to Greece and Asia, is most favourable for universal dominion.”

Every one is acquainted with the splendid passage of the *Georgics*, II. 136.

Sed neque Medorum silvæ, ditissima terra,
Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,
Laudibus Italiæ certent, &c.

But no writer is so eloquent and enthusiastic in the praises of Italy as Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and I regret being obliged to give only a summary of the passage, instead of presenting it to the reader in the historian's own warm and animated language. Comparing Italy with other countries, he finds none which unite so many important advantages. The fertile fields of Campania bear three crops in the year. The wines of Tuscany, Alba, and Falernus are excellent, and require little trouble to grow them. The olives of the Sabines, of Daunia, and Messapia, are inferior to none. Rich pastures feed innumerable herds and flocks, of oxen and horses, of sheep and goats. Its mountains are clothed with the finest timber, and contain quarries of the choicest marbles and other kinds of stone, together with metallic veins of every sort. Navigable rivers afford a constant communication between all its parts. Its forests swarm with game of every description. Warm springs abound

“ throughout ; and besides all these advantages, the climate is the most mild and temperate, in every season of the year, that can be imagined.” (Antiq. Rom. I. 36.)

It has been thought by some modern writers ^b, that the climate and temperature of Italy have undergone some change during the lapse of ages : that the neighbourhood of Rome, for instance, was colder than it is at present. This opinion seems founded on some passages of Horace, (Od. I. 9. Epist. I. 7. v. 10.) and Juvenal, (Sat. VI. 521.) in which mention is made of the Tiber as being frozen, and of the rest of the country as exhibiting all the severity of winter. But these are circumstances which happen as often in the present day as in the time of Horace, nor is it a very uncommon thing to see snow in the streets of Rome in March, or even April ^c. Whatever change may have taken place in some districts, is probably owing to the clearing away of great forests, or the draining of marshes, as in Lombardy, which must be allowed to be a much better cultivated and more populous country than it was in the time of the Romans. On the other hand, great portions of land now remain uncultivated, which were once productive and thickly inhabited. The *Campagna di Roma*, part of Tuscany, and a great portion of Calabria, are instances of the latter change.

The origin of the first inhabitants of Italy, is a question on which it is proper to state that we know but little. The information we derive on this point

^b L'Abbé du Bos, Reflex. sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture, t. ii. p. 298. L'Abbé Longuerue, cited by Gibbon, Miscellaneous

Works, t. iii. p. 245.

^c I witnessed a fall of snow there on the 12th of April, 1817.

from the writers of antiquity is so scanty and withal so confused, that it can hardly be expected we should, in the present day, arrive at any clear notions on the subject; even though it is allowed that in some respects we are better qualified than the ancients for investigating the matter, from being acquainted with the manner in which the earth was first divided and peopled; a knowledge which we derive from the earliest as well as most authentic records in existence. The difficulty, however, of the question has not deterred the learned, in different ages and countries, from engaging in it, and attempting to unfold its intricacies. But the want of sufficient data, on which to ground an argument, has been productive of this unsatisfactory result. Each inquirer has formed a system of his own, and, where no light was to be had from antiquity, has not scrupled to support it by reasons purely conjectural, or fancied etymological analogies: hence, so far from any new information having been gained for this subject by modern researches, it would rather appear, with the exception which I mean presently to notice, that it has become, if possible, more intricate and obscure.

Such being the state of things as to this point, I conceive that the better course will be, to avoid any elaborate discussion on the general question of the early population of Italy, which would be tedious to most readers; but to present, in as concise and comprehensive a view as possible, the result of my inquiries into both ancient and modern authorities on the subject. I do not mean, however, to avoid altogether the proofs and developement of this inquiry, but to reserve them for the opportunity which will be afforded of discussing it in detail under the head

of each separate nation or tribe, into which the population of ancient Italy is known to have been divided. But it may perhaps be proper, before I proceed further, to give a short account of those modern authors who have expressly treated of the subject now under consideration, that the truth of the opinion which I have expressed above may be more satisfactorily made out.

Ryckius^d, in an elaborate dissertation, has been diligent in collecting all that antiquity has transmitted to us on the subject; but there is too little discrimination of what is fabulous from what is historical in his work, to allow of its being considered in any other light than as useful for reference only. Freret, a learned French academician, who seems to have directed his researches more particularly to remote and obscure points of history and chronology, has been at much pains to elucidate the question now before us: the result of his investigation, or rather I should say his system, is given in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*^e. He conceives that Italy was altogether peopled by land, and therefore rejects all the early colonies which, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, came by sea. He distinguishes three migrations of three separate nations; the Illyrians, Iberians, and Celts. There are some ingenious ideas in his scheme, but it is generally too bold and conjectural^f, and wants the support of history

^d Theodori Ryckii Dissertatio de primis Italiæ Colonis ad calcem Steph. Byz. de Urb. ed. Luc. Holst. Lugd. Bat. 1692.

^e *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. 18.

^f Freret is in general so spar-

ing of his references, that it is not easy to distinguish whether he makes a statement founded on his own opinion merely, or on some ancient authority; instances of this will be noticed hereafter.

in so many points, that his opinions cannot be allowed to have much weight in deciding the question. Pelloutier^g, Bardetti^h, and Durandiⁱ, have endeavoured to deduce the origin of all the earliest nations of Italy from a Celtic stock. Other writers again, such as Maffei^k, Mazzochi^l, and Guarnacci^m, have imagined that the first settlements were immediately formed from the east. Where historical records fail, the analysis of language is the only clue, it must be allowed, which can enable us to trace the origin of ancient nations with any probability of success; but when the results are so much at variance with each other, as in the case of the writers above mentioned, much doubt must of necessity attach to the process by which those results have been obtained.

The knowledge of the ancient languages of Italy, of which the Latin must be considered as a dialect only, though it became the prevailing one, is comparatively of recent date. The Etruscan alphabet, the characters of which are the same as that of the Umbrian and Oscan dialects, had not been identified and made out with certainty till within the last fifty years; for the inscribed monuments of these people being rare and scanty, it has been a work of time as well as of great industry and sagacity, to draw any well established conclusion from them. These two last qualities are, I think, eminently displayed in the learned work of Lanziⁿ, on the Etruscan and other

^g Histoire des Celtes.

Cort. vol. iii. Id. ad Tab. Her. Diatr. I. p. 15.

^h Dei primi Abitatori dell' Italia, 2 vol. 4to. Modena, 1769.

^m Guarnacci Origine Italiane.

ⁱ Durandi Saggio della Storia degli Ant. Pop. d'Italia.

^k Maffei Ragionam. degli Itali primitivi Istor. Diplom.

ⁿ Lanzi Saggio di lingua Etrusca e di Altre Antiche d'Italia, 3 vol. 8vo. Rom. 1789.

^l Mazzochi Dissert. Acad.

ancient dialects of Italy ; and it is but a small part of the praise due to him to say, that in his essay he has done more towards making us acquainted with this curious branch of ancient philology, than all the writers who had preceded him taken collectively.

Though Lanzi himself declines entering into the discussion immediately under our consideration, it may be inferred from his researches, that as the Greek language in its most ancient form appears to enter largely not only into the composition of the Latin language, this being a fact which has always been acknowledged, but also into that of the other Italian dialects, the first settlers of Italy and those of Greece were of the same race ; that as the latter country became more populous, its numerous tribes extended themselves along the shores of Epirus and Illyrium, till they finally reached the head of the Adriatic, and poured into Italy.

We must however admit, that other nations of a different race soon penetrated into Italy from other quarters, and, by intermixing with its first inhabitants, communicated to the ancient language of that country that heterogeneous character by which it is essentially distinguished from the vernacular tongue of Greece. It is chiefly on these two principles, supported however by the testimony of antiquity, that I venture to ground the following system respecting the origin of the early population of Italy.

The Umbri appear to have the best claim to the title of its aboriginal inhabitants. They probably came from the eastern parts of Europe, and having reached Italy, gradually extended themselves along the ridge of the Apennines to its southern extremity.

Considering the Umbri as the aborigines of Italy, I am inclined to derive from them the Opici, or Osci, and Œnotri, who are known to have existed with them in that country before the siege of Troy. Nearly contemporary with the Umbri were the Sicani, Siculi, and Ligures, who all came from the west, and along the coast of the Mediterranean in the order in which they are here placed. The interval of time which intervened between these three colonies is unknown, but there is this distinction to be made between them. The Sicani were supposed to be Iberians; the Siculi were probably Celto-Ligurians; the Ligures, properly so called, were certainly Celts. The Sicani having been gradually propelled towards the south of Italy by the nations which followed, are known to have passed at a very remote period into Sicily, which from them obtained the name of Sicania. That a small part of their race remained in Italy is however probable^o; und it is not impossible that the ancient Aurunci and Ausones, who are otherwise unaccounted for, may have been a remnant of this very early migration. The Siculi are known to have occupied Tuscany and part of Latium for a long time, but being also driven south first by the Umbri aided by the Tyrrheni Pelasgi, and successively by the Opici and Œnotri, they also crossed over into Sicily, to which they communicated their name. This event is said to have happened about eighty years before the siege of Troy^o. The Ligures occupied the shores of the gulf of *Genoa* as far as the *Arno*, and peopled a great part

^o What relates to the Sicani and Siculi will be more fully discussed under the head of Latium.

of *Piedmont*, where they remained undisturbed till they were subjugated by the Romans. After the departure of the Siculi, considerable changes appear to have taken place. The Tyrrheni Pelasgi, who came probably from the north of Greece, and assisted the Umbri in their wars with the Siculi, occupied the country from which this latter people had been expelled, in conjunction with the Umbri, and together with them formed the nation of the Etrusci, or Tusci.

About the same period the Opici, or Osci^p, who seem to have occupied the central region of Italy, extended themselves largely both west and east. In the first direction they formed the several communities distinguished by the name of Latins, Rutuli, Volsci, Campani, and Sidicini. In the central districts they constituted the Sabine nation, from whom were descended the Picentes, as well as the Æqui, Marsi, Hernici, Peligni, Vestini, and Marucini. From the Opici again, in conjunction with the Liburni, an Illyrian nation who had very early formed settlements on the eastern coast of Italy, we must derive the Apuli and Daunii, Peucetii and Pœdiculi, Calabri, Iapyges, and Messapii. The Greeks, who formed numerous settlements in the south of Italy after the siege of Troy, found these several people and the Ænotri, still further south, in possession of the country. But the Ænotrian name disappeared, together with its subdivisions, into the Leutarnii, Chones, and Itali; when the Samnite nation, which derived its origin from the Sabines, had

^p The former is the name by which this people was known to the Greeks; the latter is their Latin appellation.

propagated the Oscan stock to the extremity of the peninsula, under the various denominations of Hirpini, Pentri, Caraceni, Frentani, and subsequently of the Leucani and Bruttii. In the north of Italy the following settlements are considered as posterior to the siege of Troy. 1st, That of the Veneti, an Illyrian nation who fixed themselves between the river *Adige* and the Adriatic. 2d, That of the Gauls, a Celtic race, who crossed the Alps; and, having expelled the Tuscans from the plains of Lombardy, gave to the country which they occupied the name of Cisalpine Gaul. These, with several Alpine tribes of uncertain origin, are all the inhabitants of ancient Italy, to whom distinct denominations are assigned in history.

We are informed by Pliny, (III. 5—19.) that after Augustus had extended the frontiers of Italy to the Maritime Alps and the river Arsia, he divided that country into eleven regions: viz. 1. Campania, including also Latium. 2. Apulia, to which was annexed part of Samnium. 3. Lucania and Bruttium. 4. Samnium, together with the country of the Sabines, Marsi, Æqui, &c. 5. Picenum. 6. Umbria. 7. Etruria. 8. Flaminia, extending from the Apennines to the *Po*. 9. Liguria. 10. Venetia, containing Histria and the country of the Carni. 11. Transpadana, comprehending what remained between Venetia and the Alps. This division, though not to be overlooked in this work, is too seldom noticed to be of much utility. The following distribution has been adopted, I believe, by most geographical writers, and will be found much more convenient for the purposes of history.

1. Liguria. 2. Gallia Cisalpina. 3. Venetia, including the Carni and Histria. 4. Etruria. 5. Umbria and Picenum. 6. The Sabini, Æqui, Marsi, Peligni, Vestini, Marrucini. 7. Roma. 8. Latium. 9. Campania. 10. Samnium and the Frentani. 11. Apulia, including Daunia and Messapia, or Iapygia. 12. Lucania. 13. Bruttii.

SECTION II.

L I G U R I A.

History of the Ligurians—Boundaries—Description of the coast
—Interior—Roads.

THE Ligures, termed Λίγυες and Λιγυστῖνοι by the Greeks, (Strab. IV. 203. Polyb. II. 16.) appear to have been a numerous and powerful people, extending along the shores of the Mediterranean from the mouths of the *Rhone* to the river *Arno*, reaching also into the interior of Gaul, and the valleys of the Maritime Alps. According to some accounts they had penetrated to the west as far as the borders of Spain. (Thuc. VI. 2. Scyl. Peripl. p. 4.) At present I mean to confine myself to that part of the nation which was included in the limits that have been assigned to Italy.

Of the origin of this people we have no positive information; but there is good reason for supposing that they were Celts, though Strabo distinguishes them from the Gauls. (IV. 128.) The story which is told by Plutarch of the Ligurians in the army of Marius, acknowledging the Ambrones as belonging to the same stock with themselves; the affinity of the term *Ligur* to the Celtic *Lly-gour*, or *Lly-gor*, together with other words evidently belonging to the same root, which Cluverius has collected^a, may

^a Ital. Ant. t. i. p. 50.

be considered as affording plausible grounds at least for the support of such an opinion.

Though the period of their settlement in Italy cannot be determined, we may safely affirm that it was very remote, since the Tyrrheni, themselves a very ancient people, on their arrival in Italy found them occupying a portion of what was afterwards called Etruria, and after a long struggle succeeded in expelling them. (Lycoph. v. 1354.) The Greeks, who were unacquainted with the real situation of Liguria, made that country the scene of some of their earliest and most poetical fictions. The passage of Hercules, (Æsch. Prom. Sol. ap. Strab. IV. 183.) and the story of Cynus were identified with it. (Virg. Æn. X. 185.) And it is not improbable that the fable of Phaëthon's sisters shedding tears of amber, a substance which the Greeks called *Lingurium*, (Strab. IV. 202.) had its origin in the country which produced that substance, and gave it its name ^b.

Herodotus was better acquainted with the Ligurians, (V. 9.) and mentions them as forming part of the mercenary forces of Carthage in its wars against the Greeks of Sicily. (VII. 165.)

The conquest of Liguria by the Romans was not effected till long after the second Punic war. The Ligurians had joined Hannibal with a considerable force soon after his arrival, (Polyb. III. 60.) a circumstance of itself sufficient to provoke hostilities on the part of the conquerors; but there was another reason which rendered the subjugation of Liguria extremely desirable. It afforded the easiest commu-

^b Millin, *Voyage en Italie*, t. ii. p. 336.

nication with Gaul and Spain over the Maritime Alps, an object in itself of the greatest importance. The Ligurians long and obstinately resisted their invaders, when the rest of Italy had been already subjugated for many years. The Romans could only obtain a free passage along their shore of twelve stadia from the coast; (Strab. IV. 180. and 203.) nor was it till the Ligurians, after a war of eighty years duration, had been driven from every hold in their mountains, and whole tribes had been even carried out of the country, that they could be said to be finally conquered. (Liv. XL. 38. and XLI. 12—19.) We are not acquainted with the form of government and constitution of this people prior to these events, but it is probable that it constituted a confederacy composed of numberless petty tribes, bound by their own laws, and acknowledging no superior head or authority ^c.

The Ligurian character does not appear to have been held in much esteem by antiquity; whilst it allows them all the hardihood and courage usual with mountaineers; (Cic. Agr. II. 35. Virg. Georg. II. 168.) qualities which were even shared in an uncommon degree by the weaker sex. (Diodor. V. 39.) It taxes them too plainly with craft and deceit to be misunderstood.

..... Apenninicolæ bellator filius Aunus

Haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.

VIRG. ÆN. XI. 700.

where see the commentary of Servius; also Claudian, Idyl. XII.

^c Micali l'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani, vol. i. c. 8.

a writer whom I shall often have occasion to cite.

According to the statement of Polybius, (II. 16.) the boundaries of the Ligurians in Italy seem to have been the Maritime Alps to the north-west, to the south the river Arno; but in the time of Augustus this latter boundary was removed northwards to the river Macra. (Plin. III. 5.) To the north and north-east the Ligurians ranged along the Alps as far as the river Orgus, *Orca*, which separated the Taurini, the last of their nation on that side, from the Cisalpine Gauls: south of the *Po* they bordered on the Anamani and Boii, also belonging to this last mentioned people.

Alpis Ma-
ritima.

Trophæa
Augusti.

The description of this portion of Italy naturally divides itself into that of the coast or country south of the Apennines, and that north of the same chain. Beginning with the former, the first place to be noticed is the summit of the *Alpis Maritima*, which marked the limit between Italy and Gaul; Augustus having there erected a trophy, on which were inscribed the names of all the Alpine tribes he had subdued, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Adriatic. Some slight remains of this monument are still to be seen at the small village of *la Turbia*, a name evidently a corruption of *Trophæa*, situated about two miles above *Monaco*^d. The inscription, which is highly interesting and useful for the knowledge of ancient Alpine geography, is to be found in Pliny. (III. 20.) Ptolemy also notices the trophy, p. 61.

The *Alpis Maritima* was the earliest passage of the Alps frequented by the Romans; for the *Via Au-*

^d See D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, Art. *Alpis Maritima*, et *Trophæa Augusti*.

Also Millin, Voyage en Italie, t. ii. p. 136.

relia, which crossed it, was the first road which they carried beyond that chain^e. It was that by which Julius Cæsar penetrated into Italy, when about to engage in his contest with Pompey.

Heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitæ
Attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt;
Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque Monœci
Descendens; gener adversis instructus Eois.

ÆN. VI. 829.

Portus, or Arx Herculis Monœci, is *Monaco*. The ^{Portus} surname of Monœcus given to Hercules, who was ^{Herculis} worshipped here, shews, as Strabo observes, the ^{Monœci.} Greek origin of this place. (Strab. IV. 202.) We know that it existed in the time of the historian Hecataeus, who is quoted by Steph. Byz. as noticing this town. Fabulous accounts attributed its foundation to Hercules himself. (Am. Marc. XV.) The harbour is well described by Lucan. (Phars. I. 405.)

Quaque sub Herculeo sacratus nomine portus
Urget rupe cava pelagus—non Corus in illum
Jus habet aut Zephyrus: solus sua litora turbat
Circius et tuta prohibet statione Monœci.

And Silius Ital. I. 585.

Herculei ponto cæpere existere colles,
Et nebulosa magis attollere saxa Monœci.
Thracius hos Boreas scopulos immitia regna
Solus habet, semperque rigens nunc litora pulsat,
Nunc ipsas alis plangit stridentibus Alpes.

Mention of it is also made by Tacit. Hist. III. 42.
Val. Max. I. 6. Jul. Obseq. de Prod. Plin. III. 5.
Ptol. p. 61.

Advancing along the coast we enter upon the ter-

^e Bergier, Hist. des Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 28.

Intemelii. ritory of the Intemelii, whose capital, Albium Intemelium, now *Vintimiglia*, was a city of some size and note. (Strab. IV. 202. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 61. Varr. de R. Rust. III. 8.) From Tacitus (Hist. II. 13.) we learn that it was a municipium. A little beyond we cross the Rutuba, now *la Rotta*, a small stream mentioned by Lucan. (Phar. II. 422.)

Dexteriora petens montis declivia Thybrim

Unda facit, Rutubamque cavum—

Ingauni. Next in order are the Ingauni. Albium Ingaunum, their chief city, is *Albenga*. (Strab. IV. 202. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 61. Varr. de R. Rust. III. 8. Pomp. Mel. II. 4. Tacit. Hist. II. 15. Flav. Vopisc. vita Proc.)

Merula fl. The little river Merula, mentioned by Pliny, (III. 5.) is now called *Arosoia*. Above the Ingauni and

Epanterii. among the mountains were the Epanterii. In a war which occurred between these two people, the former were assisted by Mago, a Carthaginian officer, who commanded a fleet on this coast towards the close of the second Punic war. Opposite *Albenga* is a little island known formerly by the name of Gallinaria, on account of its abounding in a particular breed of fowls. (Varr. de R. Rust. III. 4. Colum. VIII. 2.)

Vada Sabata. About twenty-five miles beyond Albingaunum, on the coast, is Vada Sabatorum, or Vada Sabatia and Sabata, a name which marks the shallow and muddy nature of the shore. (Strab. IV. 202.) Cluverius imagined that the situation of this place agreed with that of *Savona*[†]; but D'Anville observes, that the position of *Vadi*, or *Vai*, answers better to that of Vada Sabata[§]; besides which, we find in Livy mention made of Savo, (XXVIII. 46.) a name too closely

[†] Ital. Ant. I. p. 68.

[§] Geog. Anc. p. 49.

agreeing with that of *Savona* to be mistaken. Cicero, in one of his letters, (ad Fam. XI. 13.) simply calls it *Vada*, and notices it as a place of most difficult access, where Antony halted after his defeat near *Modena*. (See also Pomp. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Jul. Capit. vit. Pert.) Ptolemy improperly places it inland, p. 64.

Beyond *Sabata* we find the little river *Porcifera* of Porcifera fl. Pliny, (III. 5.) or, as it is called in the famous brassen tablet of *Genoa*, *Procobera*, now *la Polcevera*.

Genua, in Italian *Genova*, or *Genoa*, is mentioned Genua. for the first time in history by Livy, (XXVIII. 46.) as having been destroyed by Mago the Carthaginian. It was subsequently rebuilt by the Romans, (Liv. XXX. 1.) and made a municipium. A curious fact, illustrative of the history of *Genoa*, was brought to light by the discovery of the brassen tablet, already noticed, in 1506, near the city. This monument informs us, that a dispute having arisen between the *Genuatæ* and *Veitirii*, who are supposed to be the Veitirii. people of *Voltaggio* on the other side of the *Bocchetta*, on the subject of their respective boundaries, commissioners were appointed by the Roman senate, under the consulships of L. Cecilius Metellus and Q. Mucius Scævola, A. U. C. 636. to settle the limits of the two territories. And the tablet gives the result of their labours^b. In the time of Strabo

^b This inscription is of great interest to the ancient topographer, since it contains the names of many places, mountains, and rivers in the vicinity of *Genoa*, which occur no where else. It is also curious from being written in very old Latin. It is

preserved in the Palazzo dei Padri delle Commune at *Genoa*, and has been several times published. The best commentary upon it will be found in a dissertation by Gir. Serra, published at *Genoa*, 1806: and some judicious remarks on this Italian

Genoa seems to have been a place of considerable trade, particularly in timber, which was brought from the mountains, where it grew to a great size. Some of it being richly veined was used for making tables, which were thought scarcely inferior to those of cedar-wood. Other commodities were cattle, skins, and honey, which the Ligurians exchanged for oil and Italian wine, none being grown on their coast. Other authors who mention *Genoa* are Pomp. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Val. Max. I. 6. Ptol. p. 61. In later times we find the name written *Janua*, with an idea that it was founded by Janus, which Cluverius justly rejects as absurdⁱ; he quotes Procopius. (Bell. Got. II.) Beyond *Genoa*, the river called Feritor by Pliny, is the *Bisagno*. The Portus Delphini, of the same author, (III. 5.) is *Porto Fino*. The river Entella, noticed by Ptolemy, p. 61. must be the *Lavagna*. Segeste is *Sestri*, and Tigulia, about three miles from the coast, a ruin called *Tregosa*. (Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 61.) In the mountains above this part of the coast were the Briniates, a name which bears some resemblance to that of *Brugnetto*. (Liv. XXIX. 2. and XLI. 19.)

The Apuani were another mountain-tribe in this part of Liguria, of whom more frequent mention is made in Livy. So obstinate was the resistance they made to the Roman arms, that it was found necessary to remove a great part of them into Samnium. (Liv. XL. 38. and 41.) The town of *Pontremoli* is supposed to occupy the site of their chief city. The positions of the Friniates, Garuli, Lapicini, and

memoir were written in the
Mag. Encyclopéd. 1809. t. v.

p. 395. by Mons. Walckenaer.
ⁱ Ital. Ant. I. p. 70.

Hercates, other petty tribes mentioned in the course of these wars, and their mountains, Suisмонтium, Letus, and Balista, cannot now be precisely identified, but they may be conceived generally to correspond with the chain of the Apennines about *S. Pellegri*no and *Monte Balestra*^k. (Liv. XXXIX, 2.)

Returning towards the coast, we find a river called Boactes, by Ptolemy, p. 61. which can be no other than *la Vara*, a torrent falling into the *Macra* below *Borghetto*. It has been said, that the river Macra, *Macra*, formed the limit of Liguria to the south; the description of the coast therefore terminates with it. The Portus Lunensis, *il Golfo di Spezzia*, though on the right bank of the *Macra*, and therefore, properly speaking, in Liguria, will be more conveniently noticed in the description of Etruria. Lucan describes the Macra as a rapid river. (Phars. II. 426.)

..... nullasque vado qui Macra moratus

Alnos, vicinæ percurrit in æquora Lunæ.

But like most of the mountain streams on this coast, it is nearly dry in summer.

I shall now proceed to describe the interior of Liguria, beginning at the angle formed by the separation of the Apennines and Alps. Here we find the Vagienni, whose name, as D'Anville observes, is still apparent in that of *Viozenna*. The character of their country is sufficiently indicated by a line of Silius Ital. (VIII. 607.)

Tum pernix Ligus, et sparsi per saxa Vagenni

In decus Annibalis duros misere nepotes.

^k Oderigo Lettere Ligustiche, p. 24. Tonso Origine dei Liguri, p. 204.

Augusta
Vagiennorum.

Their capital was Augusta Vagiennorum, (Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 64.) now *Vico*, according to D'Anville; but the learned Durandi, whose authority I am more inclined to follow, as that of a local antiquary, has placed it at *Bene*¹. According to Pliny, the Vagienni extended as far as the Mons Vesulus, *Monte Viso*, a mountain celebrated in antiquity as giving rise to the *Po*. Pliny mentions the source as being a remarkable sight^m. (III. 16.) Virgil describes the Vesulus as abounding in firs, but this must be understood of its base.

Vesulus
mons.

Ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
Actus aper, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
Defendit— ÆN. X. 709.

Ceba.

Ceba, another town of the Vagienni, was celebrated for its cheese. (Plin. XI. 42.) It is now called *Ceva*.

Statielli.
Aquæ Statiellæ.

Contiguous to these, to the north-east, were the Statielli, whose chief town Aquæ Statiellæ has not wholly lost its name in the modern one of *Acqui*. Pliny mentions it as a place of some note. (III. 5.

Caristum.

Strab. V. 217.) Caristum, an obscure town, mentioned by Livy as belonging to the Statielli, (XLII. 7.) is supposed to be *Carosio* near *Gavi*. On the banks of the Tanarus, *Tanaro*, were several considerable towns.

Pollentia.

Pollentia, a municipal city, of which several vestiges remain near a village called *Polen-*

¹ Durandi dell' Augusta dei Vagienni, p. 78, &c.

^m The *Po* flows from two small lakes, the one situated immediately below the highest peak of *Monte Viso*, the other still higher up between that

peak and the lesser one called *Visoletto*. The waters of this second lake find vent in a great cavern; and this probably is the source to which Pliny alludes.

*æa*ⁿ, (Suet. Tib. 37. Plin. III. 5.) is chiefly celebrated for its wool. (Plin. VIII. 48. Colum. VII. 2. and Sil. Ital. VIII. 599.)

. fuscique férax Pollentia villi.

A battle was fought in its vicinity between Stilico and the Goths, the success of which appears to have been very doubtful. (Oros. VII. 37. Cassiod. Chron.) But Claudian speaks of it as the greatest triumph of his hero. (De Bell. Get. 605.)

O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia sæclis !

O meritum nomen felicibus apta triumphis ! &c.

The position of Barderate, (Plin. III. 5.) is thought Barderate. to answer to that of *Bra*^o, close to *Polenza*. *Alba* Alba Pompeia. *Pompeia*, a few miles lower down on the Tanarus, retains the first part of its name. (Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 64.) This city, which probably owes its surname to Pompeius Strabo, who had colonized several towns in the north of Italy, appears from several inscriptions to have been a municipium^p. It was the birthplace of the emperor Pertinax. (Dio Cass. LXXXIII. Zon. Ann. II.)

Asta, to which Ptolemy gives the title of Colony, Asta. (p. 64.) nearly retains its name in that of the modern *Asti*. (Plin. III. 5.)

. Nec plus Pollentia rebus

Contulit Ausoniis aut mœnia vindicis Astæ.

CLAUD. DE VI. CONS. HON. 205.

About twenty miles to the west of Asta, we find Dertona.

ⁿ Dell' Antichità di Pollenza. primi abitatori d'Italia, p. 108.
Mém. de l'Acad. de Turin 1805 ^p Durandi Piemonte Cispadano, p. 198.
—1808.

^o Bardetti della lingua dei

Dertona, *Tortona*, a considerable place according to Strabo. (V. 217.) It was a Roman colony, (Plin. III. 5. Ptol. 64.) surnamed Julia, as we learn from ancient inscriptions. Velleius says, the date of its colonization is uncertain. (I. 15. See Cic. Ep. ad Fam. XI. 13. Artem. ap. Steph. Byz. Cassiod. Ep. X. 27.)

Libarna. South of *Tortona* was the Libarna of Pliny, (III. 5.) the same town probably which is named Libarnum in the Itineraries. These place it on the road leading from *Tortona* to *Genoa*; and by correcting the distances, which are manifestly wrong, Cluverius thinks the position of Libarna may be made to agree with that of *Arquata*, a small town, situated between *Novi* and *Genoa*.

Iria. To the north of *Tortona*, and on the same road, which was the ancient Via Posthumia, was Iria. (Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 64.) This place was afterwards probably called Vicus Iriæ, and this denomination led to the corrupt form of *Voghera*, the present name. A little south of *Voghera* is a village

Ritubium. called *Retorbio*, which is thought, with great appearance of probability, to be the Litubium, or Ritubium, of Livy; (XXXII. 29.) it is mentioned also by Pliny on account of the excellent quality of its wool. (XIX. I.) The last town we have to notice in this

Clastidium. part of Liguria is Clastidium, (Strab. V. 27.) now *Chiasteggio*, celebrated as the place where Claudius Marcellus gained the *spolia opima*, by vanquishing and slaying Viridomarus, king of the Gæsatae. (Polyb. II. 34. Plut. vit. Marc. Val. Max. I. 1. and Fast. Capit. ap. Pigh.) Clastidium was betrayed to Hannibal after the battle of the Ticinus, with considerable magazines which the Romans had laid up there, and it formed the chief depot of the Cartha-

ginian army while encamped on the Trebia. (Polyb. III. 69. Liv. XXI. 48. Cic. Tusc. Disp. IV. 22.) It was afterwards burned by the Romans in a war with the Ligurians. (Liv. XXXII. 29. and 31.) The Ilvates, Celulates, and Cerdiciates, ascribed to that nation by the same author, are entirely unknown. Between the *Tanaro* and the *Po*, we find, near the junction of those two rivers, Forum Fulvii, surnamed Valentinum, now *Valenza*. (Plin. III. 5.) Considerably higher up the *Po*, but also on the right bank, was Industria, the position of which was for a long time a matter of conjecture to geographers and antiquaries; Cluverius and many others fixing it at *Casal*, till the discovery of its ruins at *Monteu di Po*, near the fortress of *Verrua*, put an end to this uncertainty^r. We are informed by Pliny, that the Ligurian name of this city was Bodincomagus, Bodencus being the appellation of the *Po* in that language, and signifying "something which is unfathomable." Here in fact that river becomes sufficiently deep to be navigable^s. (Plin. III. 16.)

Carrea Potentia, a town mentioned by Pliny, (III. 5.) and of whose situation Cluverius professes himself to be ignorant, is proved by the learned Durandi to be *Chieri*^t, a place on the right bank of the *Po*, and about six miles distant from *Turin*.

On the authority of the same antiquary I have ventured to give a place in the map to four towns which are only known from inscriptions. Sedula

^q Tonso Origine dei Liguri, p. 205.

^r Ricolvi e Rivautella il sito dell' antica città d'Industria scoperto e illustrato. Torino. 4^o.

^s It has been observed by Cluverius, that the Celtic word *magus* always denotes proximity to a river. Germ. Ant. I. 7.

^t Durandi Piemonte Torinese.

Testona. near *Casal*, on the *Po*: Testona^u, *Moncalieri*, near
 Caburro. *Turin*: Caburro, *Cavours*, between *Saluzzo* and
 Pedona. *Pignerol*: and Pedona, now *Borgo S. Dalmazzo*,
 between the *Stura* and *Gesso*^x.

Taurini. The Taurini are the last people of Liguria whom we have to mention. From their position indeed they would seem more properly to belong to Cisalpine Gaul^y. But Polybius excludes the Taurini from his enumeration of the Gauls, who settled in the plains of Italy; (II. 17.) and Strabo (IV. 204.) and Pliny (III. 17.) expressly call them Ligurians. Cluverius has strangely confounded them with the Taurisci, mentioned also by Polybius, but classed by him with the Gauls. (II. 15. and 30.) The Taurini probably occupied both banks of the *Po*, but especially the country situated between that river and the Alps, as far as the river *Orcus*, *Orca*, to the east, while the position of *Fines*, *Aviliana*, given by the Itineraries, fixes their limit to the west.

The Taurini are first mentioned in history as having opposed Hannibal soon after his descent from the Alps^z; (Polyb. III. 60.) and their capital, which Appian calls Taurasia, (de Bell. Hannab. c. v.) was taken and plundered by that general, after an ineffectual resistance of three days. As a Roman colony, it subsequently received the name of *Augusta Taurinorum*, which is easily recognised in that of *Torino*, the present capital of *Piedmont*. (Plin. III. 17. Tacit. Hist. II. 66. Ptol. p. 64.)

Augusta
Taurino-
rum.

^u Id. Vercellese, p. 39.

^x Durandi Pedona, Caburro, &c.

^y Liguria did in fact form part of Cisalpine Gaul till the

reign of Augustus.

^z See a Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps, p. 110.

Forum Vibii, which Pliny places near the source of the *Po*, (III. 16. and Solin. 8.) is thought to be ^{Forum Vibii.} *Castel-Fiori* near *Saluzzo*.

As this part of the descriptive tour has brought us to the Alps, a proper opportunity seems afforded ^{Cottii regnum.} for saying a few words on the principality of Cottius, and that part of the chain to which he communicated his name. Cottius was an Alpine chieftain, who held a kind of sovereignty over several valleys in those mountains. It appears to have been hereditary, as we hear also of king Donnus, his father ^a. (Ovid. Ep. Pont. IV. 7.)

Alpinis juvenis regibus orte—

* * * * *

..... Progenies alti fortissima Donni.

and (Strab. IV. 204.) Cottius is represented as lurking in the fastnesses of his Alps, and even defying the power of Rome, till Augustus thought it worth while to conciliate him with the title of prefect. (Dio Cass. IX. 24. Amm. Marcell. XV. 10.) Claudius however restored to him the title of king. Under Nero the Cottian Alps became a Roman province. (Suet. Ner. 18.)

The extent of the territory which Cottius possessed cannot now be easily defined; for though all the people which composed his dominions are enumerated in the inscription of the arch at *Susa*, many of them remain unknown, notwithstanding great pains have been taken to identify their situation ^b.

^a The fact of Cottius being the son of Donnus appears from the inscription on the arch of *Susa*: Cluverius does not seem to have been aware of it. Ital.

Antiq. c. 12.

^b See Millin, Voyage en Italie, tom. i. p. 105. et seq. who is very full and satisfactory on the subject.

Alpis Cottia.

Enough however of them is known to make it appear, that the territory of Cottius extended much farther on the side of Gaul than that of Italy^c. The great road over the Alpis Cottia, *Mont Genevre*, which finally became the most frequented passage between those two countries, was principally constructed by Cottius, and led through the heart of his principality, the valleys of the *Doria* and *Durance*. (Amm. Marcell. XV. 10.) Segusio, *Suza*, was his capital, if we may judge from the inscription, and the circumstance of his being buried there. (Amm. Marcell. loc. cit.) This town is also mentioned by Pliny. (III. 17. and Ptol. p. 64.)

Segusio.

Ocelum.

The position of Ocelum, of which Cæsar speaks as the last town of Cisalpine Gaul in this direction, (Bell. Gall. I. 11.) had been mistaken by every geographer and critic before D'Anville^d, who has proved it to be *Uxeau* near *Fenestrelles*, in the valley of *Pragelas*.

Scingomagus.

According to Strabo, this place terminated the district of Cottius on the Italian side. (IV. 179.) Scingomagus, mentioned by the same writer and by Pliny as the last point of Italy to the north, (II. 108.) is *Siguin*, a hamlet at the foot of the *Col de Sestrieres*^e.

I must now speak of those rivers of the interior of Liguria, with the ancient names of which we are acquainted. They all finally fall into the Po, whether they take their source in the Alps or Apennines.

^c In Gaul he seems to have held under him all the eastern part of *Dauphiné*, and the north eastern portion of *Provence*. See D'Anville, Not. de l'Anc. Gaule,

Art. Caturiges, Savincates, Esubiani, &c.

^d Notice de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Ocelum.

^e Id. Art. Scingomagus.

Of the former, the Stura, (Plin. III. 16.) rising on *Stura fl.* the *Col d'Argentiere*, and falling into the *Tanaro*, still retains its name. The Cluso is the *Chissone*, *Cluso fl.* which rises on the *Col de Sestrieres*, and falls into the *Po* near *Carmagnola*.

The Duria Major, (Strabo IV. 203.) *Doria Ripa-* *Duria fl.*
ria, has its source on *Mont Genevre*, and joins the *Po* near *Turin*. *Major.*

Of the latter, the Tanarus, *Tanaro*, (*Ælian. Hist. Tanarus fl.*
Anim. XIV. 29.) receives the Urbs, *l'Orba*, (*Claud. Urbs fl.*
de Bell. Got.) and unites with the *Po* near *Lomello*.
The Iria, (*Jornandes de Reb. Got. 45.*) now *Staf-* *Iria fl.*
fora, falls into that river somewhat lower down.

We have yet to examine the different Roman roads which traversed Liguria, and established a communication between its several parts.

The principal way, as well as the most ancient, was that which followed the whole length of the coast, and led into Gaul by the *Alpis Maritima*. It was made by the consul Aurelius, about 605 U. C. and from him was called the *Via Aurelia*^f. It seems to have been laid down in the first instance from Rome to Pisa, from which point it was subsequently continued under the name of the *Via Æmilia*, by the consul Æmilius Scaurus, A. U. C. 639, as far as *Vada Sabata*: here it left the coast, and led by a circuitous route to *Acqui* and *Tortona*. (*Strab. V. 217.*) At a later period, however, this road was carried along the coast to the Maritime Alps, and even beyond them into Gaul as far as *Arelate*, *Arles*; when the name of *Via Aurelia*, as we find from the *Itinerary*

^f Bergier, *Hist. des Grands Chemins*, iii. 28.

of Antoninus, was commonly used to designate the route between that city and Rome.

The stations and distances given by the *Tabula Theodosiana*, of that portion of it which belongs to Liguria, are as follows ^g:

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.		
Alpe Maritima				
Albintimilium	<i>Vintimiglia</i>	-	-	VIII.
Albingaunum	<i>Albenga</i>	-	-	XLVII ^h .
Vada Sabata	<i>Vadi</i>	-	-	XXIX.
Vicum Virginis	<i>Veragine</i>	-	-	VIII.
Albam Dociliam	<i>Albizzola</i>	-	-	XIII.
ad Navaliam	<i>Arenzano</i>	-	-	XIII.
Hastam	<i>Voltri</i>	-	-	VII.
ad Figlinas	<i>Pegli</i>	-	-	XIII.
Genuam	<i>Genoa</i>	-	-	XXVII ⁱ .
Ricinam	<i>Recco</i>	-	-	VII.
ad Solaria	-	-	-	XV.
Moniliam	<i>Moneglia</i>	-	-	VI.
In Apennino	<i>Matarana</i>	-	-	XIII.
Boron	-	-	-	II.
Lunam	<i>Luni</i>			

According to the Itinerary of Antoninus ^k.

Alpe Summa				
Lumonem	-	-	-	VI.
Albintimilium	<i>Vintimiglia</i>	-	-	X.
Costam Balenæ	<i>Costa Rainera</i>	-	-	XVI.
Lucum Bormanni	-	-	-	XVI.

^g I have thought it better throughout to give the names of places not precisely as they are in the Itinerary, but in their more correct Latin form.

^h This number is supplied from the Antonine Itinerary.

ⁱ This and the preceding number are evidently incorrect, the former should be III. the latter VII.

^k Ed. Wesseling. Amstel. 1735. p. 296.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Albingaunum	<i>Albenga</i> - - -	XV.
Pullopicem	<i>Finale</i> - - -	VIII.
Vada Sabbata ¹	<i>Vadi</i> - - -	XII.
Canalicum	<i>Carcare</i> - - -	XII.
Crixiam	- - - - -	X.
Aquas	<i>Acqui</i> - - -	XX.
Dertonam	<i>Tortona</i> - - -	XXVIII.
Libarnum	- - - - -	XXXV.
Genuam	<i>Genoa</i> - - -	XXXVI ^m .
Delphinis portum	<i>Porto Fino</i> - - -	XII.
Tegolatam ⁿ	<i>Tregosa</i> - - -	XXI.
Bodetiam	- - - - -	XII.
Boaceas ^o	<i>la Vara</i> - - -	XXVII.

We have also in an ancient Maritime Itinerary the following description of the coast. (Itin. Anton. p. 503.)

Portu Herculis Monæci	<i>Monaco</i>	
Albintimiliam	<i>Vintimiglia</i> -	XVI.
Portum Maurici	<i>Porto Maurisio</i>	XV.
Albingaunum	<i>Albenga</i> - -	XXXV.
Vada Sabbata	<i>Vadi</i> - -	XVII.
Genuam	<i>Genoa</i> - -	XXX.
Portum Delphinis	<i>Porto Fino</i> -	XVIII.
Segestam	<i>Sestri</i> - -	XII.
Portum Veneris	<i>Porto Venere</i> -	XXX.
Lunæ portum	<i>Spezzia</i> - -	V.

The Via Posthumia was another great Roman road, which, beginning at *Genoa*, traversed the Apen-

¹ Here the Itinerary leaves the coast to follow a road, which, passing through *Acqui* and *Tortona*, met the Via Aurelia again at *Genoa*: this was properly the Via Æmilia Scauri.

^m This should be XXVI.

ⁿ The same place as the Tigulia of Pliny.

^o Probably the river called Boactes by Ptolemy, *la Vara*.

nines, and the part of Liguria which lies on the other side of that chain; and continued its course through a great portion of Cisalpine Gaul, as far as Verona. It has not been, I believe, ascertained by whom and at what time this road was constructed; but we know that it must have existed before 636 U. C. the date of the brasen tablet of *Genoa*^p, in which mention is made of it. It may with probability be ascribed to A. Posthumius Albinus, who was consul in 572 U. C. and afterwards censor in 578. (Liv. XL. 41. and XLI. 27.)

The following distances on the Ligurian portion of this road are furnished by the *Tabula Theodosiana* and the *Itinerary of Antoninus*.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Genua	<i>Genoa</i>	
Libarnam	<i>Arquata</i> - - -	XXVI.
Dertonam	<i>Tortona</i> - - -	XXXV.
Iriam	<i>Voghera</i> - - -	X.
Cameliomagum	<i>Cigomol</i> - - -	XVI.
Placentiam	<i>Piacenza</i> - - -	XXV.

The road over the Cottian Alps has been already noticed. In the *Itinerary of Antoninus* we find it described as “*Via de Italia in Gallias, a Mediolano*” “*Milan, Arelate Arles, per Alpes Cottias.*”

Its stations in the *Itinerary of Jerusalem*^q, which is the fullest, are,

Matrona Monte ^r	<i>Mont Genevre</i>	
Gesdaonem ^s	<i>Sezanne</i> - - -	V.

^p See p. 25.

^q For an account of this *Itinerary*, see Wesseling's preface to his edition of it, published together with that of *Antoninus*.

^r Another name for the *Alpis Cottia*.

^s D'Anville, *Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Gesdao*.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.		
ad Martem	<i>Oulx</i>	-	-	VIII.
Segusionem	<i>Suza</i>	-	-	XVI.
ad Duodecimum	-	-	-	XII.
ad Fines	<i>Aviliana</i>	-	-	XII.
ad Octavum	<i>Rivoli</i>	-	-	VIII.
Taurinos	<i>Torino</i>	-	-	VIII.
ad Decimum	-	-	-	X.
Quadrata	-	-	-	XII.
Cestias	<i>Cizzengo</i>	-	-	XI.
Rigomagum ^t	<i>Rinco</i>	-	-	VIII.
ad Medias ^u	<i>Cabiano</i>	-	-	X.
ad Cottias	<i>Cozzo</i>	-	-	XIII.
Laumellum ^x	<i>Lomello</i>	-	-	XII.

The table supplies two cross roads, one by

Augusta Taurinorum	<i>Torino</i>			
Pollentiam	<i>Polenza</i>	-	-	XXXV.
Albam Pompeiam	<i>Alba</i>			
Aquas Statiellas	<i>Acqui</i>	-	-	X.

And another by

Dertona	<i>Tortona</i>			
Forum Fulvii	<i>Valenza</i>			
Astam	<i>Asti</i>	-	-	XXII.

^t See a note on this station p. 340.
in the Itin. Anton. of Wess. p. 340.

^x The two last stations are in Cisalpine Gaul.

^u Carbantia in Antonin. Wess.

SECTION III.

GALLIA CISALPINA.

Invasion of Italy by the Gauls—Extent of their settlements—
General character of the country—The river Po—Division of
Cisalpine Gaul into Transpadana and Cispadana—Description
of that province according to this division—Roman ways.

IT is well ascertained, that in times beyond which the annals of Italy do not reach, the whole of that rich country, which now bears the name of Lombardy, was possessed by the ancient and powerful nation of the Tuscans; but that subsequently the numerous hordes which Gaul poured successively over the Alps into Italy, drove by degrees the Tuscans from these fertile plains, and at last confined them within the narrow limits of Etruria. Livy, who has given us the most circumstantial account of these migrations of the Gauls, assigns to them as early a date as the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, that is, about 600 B. C.; and though there are some circumstances in the narrative of the Roman historian which do not seem altogether correctly stated^a, the main facts themselves must subsist, as they are agreed upon by all ancient writers on the subject. (Liv. V. 33. et seq. Cf. Polyb. II. 17. Plin. XII. 1. Plut. in Cam.) The Gauls having securely established themselves in their new possessions, proceeded to make

^a Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps. Introd. p. 17.

further inroads into various parts of Italy, and thus came into contact with the forces of Rome. More than two hundred years had elapsed from the time of their first invasion, when they totally defeated the Roman army on the banks of the Allia, and became masters of Rome itself.

The defence of the Capitol, and the exploits of Camillus, (Liv. V. 47. et seq.) or rather, if Polybius be correct, (II. 18.) the gold of the vanquished, and dangers which threatened the Gauls at home, preserved the state. From that time, the Gauls, though they continued by frequent incursions to threaten and even to ravage the territory of Rome, could make no impression on that power. Though leagued with the Samnites and Etruscans, they were almost always unsuccessful. Defeated at Sentinum in Umbria; near the lake Vadimon in Etruria; and in a still more decisive action near the port of Telamo in the same province, (Polyb. II. 19, 20. and 27.) they soon found themselves forced to contend not for conquest, but for existence. The same ill success however attended their efforts in their own territory. The progress of the Roman arms was irresistible; the Gauls were beaten back from the Adriatic to the Po, from the Po to the Alps, and soon beheld Roman colonies established and flourishing in many of the towns which had so lately been theirs.

Notwithstanding these successive disasters, their spirit, though curbed, was still unsubdued; and when the enterprise of Hannibal afforded them an opportunity of retrieving their losses, and wreaking their vengeance on the foe, they eagerly embraced it. It is to their zealous cooperation that Polybius ascribes in a great degree the primary success of that expe-

dition. By the efficient aid which they afforded Hannibal, he was enabled to commence operations immediately after he had set foot in Italy, and to follow up his early success with promptitude and vigour. (Polyb. III. 66.) As long as that great commander maintained his ground, and gave employment to all the forces of the enemy, the Gauls remained unmolested, and enjoyed their former freedom, without being much burdened by a war which was waged at a considerable distance from their borders. But when the tide of success had again changed in favour of Rome, and the defeat of Asdrubal, together with other disasters, had paralysed the efforts of Carthage, they once more saw their frontiers menaced: Gaul still offered some resistance even after that humbled power had been obliged to sue for peace; but it was weak and unavailing, and about twelve years after the termination of the second Punic war, it was brought under entire subjection, and became a Roman province^b. Under this denomination it continued to receive various accessions of territory, as the Romans extended their dominion towards the Alps, till it comprised the whole of that portion of Italy which lies between those mountains, and the rivers Magra and Rubicon. It was sometimes known by the name of Gallia Togata^c, (Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 14.) to distinguish it from Transalpine Gaul, to which the name of Gallia Comata was applied. (Cic.

^b There appears to be some doubt as to the exact period when this event took place, but the date I have assigned seems the most probable. See Carli *Antichita Italiane*, vol. ii. 5.

^c The towns of Cisalpine

Gaul obtained the privileges of Latin cities, and consequently the right of wearing the Toga, by a law of Pompeius Strabo. Vid. Ascon. *Pedica Com.* in Pison. p. 490. about 665. U. C.

Phil. VIII. 9.) Another frequent distinction is that of Ulterior and Citerior. (Id. Prov. Cons. 15.)

According to the plan I have proposed to myself, I shall not treat of Cisalpine Gaul under these extensive limits; but with a view to historical arrangement I shall follow the order which Polybius has observed in his second book, when describing the different settlements of the Gauls, and the several districts which they occupied. According to this historian, the whole of the country which they held was included in the figure of a triangle, which had the Alps and Apennines for two of its sides, and the Adriatic, as far as the city of Sena Gallica, *Sinigaglia*, for the base. This is, however, but a rough sketch, which requires a more accurate delineation. The following limits will be found sufficiently correct to answer every purpose. The river Orgus, *Orca*, will define the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul to the N. W. as far as its junction with the *Po*, which river will then serve as a boundary on the side of Liguria, till it receives the *Tidone* on its right bank. Along this small stream we may trace the western limit, up to its source in the Apennines, and the southern along that chain to the river Rubico, *Fimesino*, which falls into the Adriatic near *Rimini*. To the north, a line drawn nearly parallel with the Alps across the great Italian lakes will serve to separate Gaul from Rhætia, and other Alpine districts. The Athesis, *Adige*, from the point where it meets that line, and subsequently the *Po*, will distinguish it on the east and south from Venetia; and the Adriatic will close the last side of this irregular figure. The character which is given us of this portion of Italy by the writers of antiquity is that of

the most fertile and productive country imaginable. Polybius describes it as abounding in wine, corn, and every kind of grain. Innumerable herds of swine, both for public and private supply, were bred in its forests, and such was the abundance of provisions of every kind, that travellers when at an inn did not find it necessary to agree on the price of every article which they required, but paid so much for the whole amount of what was furnished them; and this charge at the highest did not exceed half a Roman *as*^d. (Polyb. II. 15.) As a proof of the richness of this country, Strabo remarks, that it surpassed all the rest of Italy in the number of large and opulent towns which it contained. The wool grown there was of the finest and softest quality; and so abundant was the supply of wine, that the wooden vessels in which it was commonly stowed were of the size of houses. (Strab. V. 218.) Lastly, Cicero styles it the flower of Italy, the support of the empire of the Roman people, the ornament of its dignity. (Phil. III. 5.)

The Gauls are represented as a tall and fine race of men, enterprising and courageous in war, but fickle and prone to change, and unable to endure fatigue or hardship of any kind. Before they became subject to the Roman dominion they appear to have lived mostly in villages, engaging only in the pursuits of war and agriculture, and neglecting all the arts of civilized life. (Polyb. II. and III. *passim*.)

Before I enter upon the description of this portion

^d Less than a halfpenny of our money; but of course the relative value of money must be taken into the account.

of Italy, it may not be amiss to give some account of the Po, as that river forms one of its most striking features, and from its great celebrity, the length of its course, and the number of its tributary streams, seems well deserving of a separate notice.

It has been much questioned whether the Greeks, from whom the name of Eridanus, and all the fables Eridanus fl. which belonged to it, derived their origin, had any distinct notion of one peculiar river to which these were exclusively to be applied. Their poets described it as the stream which received the falling Phaëton, and collected the amber tears of his sorrowing sisters; but they added no local marks by which its identity with the great river of Italy could be certified. (Apoll. Rhod. Argon. IV. 610. Conf. Diodor. V. Hygin. Myth. 154.) It is certain however that the names of Padus and Eridanus in process of time became synonymous, (Polyb. II. 16.) and with that fact it seems we should rest satisfied, without entering into a discussion which has already employed many a learned pen^e.

It was stated under the head of Liguria, that the *Po* takes its source on *Monte Viso*, the Vesulus of the ancients, and that its Celtic name was Bodencus. According to Polybius, (II. 16.) it flows at first towards the south, but soon after it changes that direction, and runs nearly due east; and after dividing unequally the plains which lie between the Alps and

^e Cluverius imagined that the Eridanus, of which Herodotus doubted the existence, (III. 115.) was the *Rhodaune*, a small river that empties itself into the *Vistula*. But if the north of Italy did produce amber for-

merly, which seems more than probable, why not let the Po retain the fame it has held so long, and which is become as it were identified with its name. See Millin, t. ii. 334. et seq.

Apennines, and receiving all the waters which flow from these two chains, it empties itself by two mouths into the Adriatic: he adds, that its stream is most full about the rising of the dog-star, from the melting of the snow on the mountains. It is navigable for nearly 250 miles from its mouth. Pliny reckons the number of rivers which it receives to be thirty, and the whole length of its course to be 288 miles. (II. 103.)

Of the Latin poets Lucan is most elaborate in praise of this noble stream.

Quoque magis nullum tellus se solvit in amnem,
 Eridanus fractas devolvit in æquora silvas,
 Hesperiamque exhaurit aquis. Hunc fabula primum
 Populea fluvium ripas umbrasse corona:
 Cumque diem pronum transverso limite ducens,
 Succendit Phaëton flagrantibus æthera loris,
 Gurgitibus raptis penitus tellure perusta,
 Hunc habuisse pares Phœbæis ignibus undas.
 Non minor hic Nilo, si non per plana jacentis
 Ægypti, Libycas Nilus stagnaret arenas.
 Non minor hic Histro. II. 408.

Sic pleno Padus ore tumens super aggere tutas
 Excurrit ripas, et totos concutit agros.
 Succubuit si qua tellus, cumulumque furentem
 Undarum non passa, ruit; tum flumine toto
 Transit, et ignotos aperit sibi gurgite campos.
 Illos terra fugit dominos; his rura colonis
 Accedunt, donante Pado. VI. 272.

But how much more majestic an idea of the same river is conveyed by two lines of Virgil:

Proluit insano contorquens vortice silvas
 Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes
 Cum stabulis armenta tulit.

GEORG. I. 481.

And in another place :

Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus: quo non alius per pingua culta
In mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis.

GEORG. IV. 371.

As the mouths of the Po belong more properly to Venetia, they will be treated of in the next section. The rivers which it receives will be mentioned as they occur in their proper order.

The division of Cisalpine Gaul into Transpadana and Cispadana is one which naturally suggests itself, and which it will be found convenient to adopt in the description of that extensive province.

Beginning with the first of these divisions, at its western extremity we find the two Gallic tribes of the Lævi and Libicii: they are mentioned together Lævi et Libicii. by Polybius, (II. 17.) and it would seem difficult to assign to each a distinct territory. We must be content to know generally, that they occupied the country which lies between the Orgus, (Plin. III. 16.) *Orca*, and the Ticinus, *Tesino*: they did not quite Orgus fl. reach to the Alps on the north, as the Salassi seem to have extended some way into the plains situated at the foot of those mountains. (Conf. Plin. III. 17. Ptol. 64. Liv. XXI. 38. and XXXIII. 37.)

Their chief city was Vercellæ, now *Vercelli*, on Vercellæ. the river Sessites, (Plin. III. 16.) *la Sesia*; but the Sessites fl. situation of the ancient town agrees more nearly with that of *Borgo Vercelli*, a small place on the left bank of the *Sesia*, and about two miles from the modern city. That Vercellæ was a town of some note may be collected from Pliny. (III. 17. Ptol. 64. Cic. Fam. Ep. II. 19. Sil. Ital. VIII. 599.) Tacitus styles it a municipium, (Hist. I. 70. de Clar. Orat.

Ictymulorum Vicus.

8. Amm. Marcell. XXII.) In the latter author the name is written Vercellum. Strabo mentions some gold mines in the district of Vercellæ, and particularly those which lay near a place called, Ictymulorum Vicus. (V. 218.) It has been much questioned where this place was situated, and who these Ictymuli were, noticed by Strabo, and also by Pliny; who, speaking of their gold mines, says, there was a law forbidding the employment of more than five thousand men in working them. (XXXIII. 4.) The learned Durandi, who has fully discussed this question of ancient topography^f, is of opinion, that there was both a city and a people of this name; and he observes, that a mountain called *Vittumulo* in old writings seems to retain traces of their existence, in the affinity of its name, and in its mineralogical character. According to this antiquary the city of *Santia*, or *St. Agata*, which he says was called by the Romans Vicus longæ viæ, would represent the Ictymulorum Vicus. I cannot help thinking, however, that if this had been the case, we should have found this place mentioned in the Itineraries, as the Vicus longæ viæ, or *Santia*, would lie on the road between *Ivrea* and *Milan*, which they describe. I have, with Cluverius and D'Anville, placed the Ictymulorum Vicus nearer the source of the *Sesia*. A small place called *Pollone*, at the foot of the Alps, seems to point out the site of a temple or grove of Apollo, which is known to have existed in the vicinity of Vercellæ.

Apollinis templum.

Tunc Deus, Alpini qui juxta culmina dorsi
Signat Apollineos sancto cognomine lucos,
Respicit.

STAT. SILV. I. 4.

^f Jac. Durandi dell' antica condizione dell' Vercellese.

Æmiliæ gentes, et Apollineas Vercellas,
Et Phaethontei qui petis arva Padi.

MART. X. EP. 12.

Still further to the west is a place called *Viverone*, Libero. with a small lake of the same name, which Cluverius conceives to be *Libero*, mentioned by Sozomen. (*Eccles. Hist. VI. 11. and Niceph. Callist. XIV. 5.*) About ten miles north-east of Vercellæ was *Novaria*, Novaria. *Novara*, on a river of the same name, now called *la Gogna*: we learn from Tacitus, that *Novaria* Novaria fl. was a municipal town. (*Hist. I. 70. Cf. Plin. XVII. 22. Ptol. p. 64. Suet. de Clar. Rhet. 6.*) Nearer the Po we find *Laumellum*, *Lomello*. (*Ptol. p. 64. Laumellum.* *Amm. Marcell. XV.*)

The *Salassi* have been already mentioned as being Salassi. situated to the north of the *Libicii*, and at the foot of the Alps. The main part of their territory lay chiefly however in a long valley, which reached to the summits of the Graian and Pennine Alps, the *Little and Great St. Bernard*. The passages over these mountains into Gaul were too important an object for the Romans, not to make them anxious to secure them by the conquest of the *Salassi*. But these hardy mountaineers, though attacked as early as 609 U. C. held out for a long time, and were not finally subdued till the reign of Augustus. Such was the difficult nature of their country, that they could easily intercept all communication through the valleys by occupying the heights. Strabo represents them as carrying on a sort of predatory warfare, during which they seized and ransomed some distinguished Romans, and even ventured to plunder the baggage and military chest of Julius Cæsar. Augustus caused their country at last to be occupied

Augusta
Prætoria.

Eporedia.

Duria fl.
Major.

permanently by a large force under Terentius Varro. A great many of the Salassi perished in this last war, and the rest, to the number of 36,000, were sold, and reduced to slavery. (Strab. IV. 205. Dio Cass. I. 53. Oros. V. 4. Liv. Epist. LIII.) A city was built on the ground occupied by Varro's camp, and Augustus honoured the rising colony by giving it the name of Augusta Prætoria. (Strab. loc. cit.) It is now well known as *Aoste*, which gives its name to the fine valley in which it lies, and where several remains of the ancient city are still to be seen^g. According to Pliny, Augusta Prætoria was reckoned the extreme point of Italy to the north. (V. 10. Ptol. p. 64.) Eporedia was another Roman colony, placed in the country of the Salassi for the purpose of checking their incursions into the plain, some years before Augusta Prætoria was built. (Vell. Pat. I. 15.) According to Pliny, the name of Eporedia is derived from a Celtic term, signifying good tamers of horses. (III. 17.) This city appears to have been a municipium as well as a colony. (Tacit. Hist. I. 70. See Strab. IV. 205. Cic. Epist. Fam. XI. 20. Ptol. p. 64.) The modern name is *Ivrea*.

The river which runs through the country of the ancient Salassi, was commonly called Duria Major, to distinguish it from another of the same name, which has been already mentioned as coming from the Cottian Alps, and falling into the *Po* near *Turin*. The Duria Major, now *Doria Baltea*, rises on the *Col de la Seigne*, and falls into the *Po* at *Crescentino*. Strabo speaks of it as being of great use to

^g Mém. sur la Vallée d'Aoste, et particulièrement sur la Cité, par M. le Gen. C. de Loche,

Mem. de l'Acad. de Turin. t. xxv. p. 27.

the Salassi, in washing the gold ore which they found in their mountains. (IV. 205.)

Next in order to the Lævi and Libicii, are the Insubres, in Greek Ἰσσυμβροί, the most numerous as Insubres. well as most powerful tribe of the Cisalpine Gauls, according to Polybius. (II. 17.) It would appear indeed from Ptolemy, (p. 64.) that their dominion extended at one time over the Libicii; but their territory, properly speaking, seems to have been defined by the rivers Ticinus and Addua. The Insubres took a very active part in the Gallic wars against the Romans, and zealously cooperated with Hannibal in his invasion of Italy. (Polyb. II. 40.) They are stated by Livy to have founded their capital Me- Mediolanum. diolanum, now *Milano*, on their first arrival in Italy, and to have given it that name from a place so called in the territory of the Ædui in Gaul^h. (V. 34. Plin. III. 17. Ptol. p. 63.) This city is named for the first time in history by Polybius, (II. 34.) in his account of the Gallic wars. The capture of it by Cn. Scipio and Marcellus was followed by the submission of the Insubres. (Oros. IV. 13. Plut. Vit. Cl. Marc.) In Strabo's time it was considered as a most flourishing city. (V. 213. Cf. Tacit. Hist. I. 70. Suet. Aug. 20. Plin. Sec. Epist. ad Tacit. IV. 13.) But its splendour seems to have been the greatest in the time of Ausoniusⁱ, who assigns to it the rank of the sixth town in the Roman empire. He describes it in the following lines :

Et Mediolani mira omnia—copia rerum ;
Innumeræ cultæque domus ; fecunda virorum

^h D'Anville, Notice de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Insubres.

the emperor Gratian, towards the end of the fourth century.

ⁱ Ausonius flourished under

Ingenia ; antiqui mores. Tum duplice muro
 Amplificata loci species, populique voluptas
 Circus, et inclusi moles cuneata theatri :
 Templa, Palatinæque arces, opulensque Moneta ;
 Et regio Herculei celebris sub honore lavacri ;
 Cunctaque marmoreis ornata peristyla signis ;
 Mæniaque in valli formam circumdata labro.
 Omnia quæ magnis operum velut æmula formis
 Excellunt ; nec juncta premit vicinia Romæ.

Procopius, who wrote a century and a half later, speaks of Mediolanum as one of the first cities of the west, and as inferior only to Rome in population and extent. (Rer. Got. lib. II.)

Raudii
 Campi.

About ten miles to the north-west of *Milan*, is a small place called *Rho* ; a name which, as D'Anville conceives, preserves some trace of the ancient appellation of Raudii Campi, plains rendered memorable by the bloody defeat of the Cimbri by Marius. (Flor. III. 3. Vell. Pater. II. 12. Oros. V. 16.) The spot, however, on which the battle took place seems very uncertain, as no author except Plutarch mentions the situation of these plains. He describes them as lying in the vicinity of Vercellæ, (Vit. C. Mar.) but even this designation is very general. The Cimbri are represented as having entered Italy by the Tridentine Alps, or the *Tyrol* ; and we further learn, that after beating back the consul Catulus on the Athesis, *Adige*, they forced the passage of that river, by which time Marius having come up with considerable reinforcements, a battle took place by mutual consent in the plains of which we are speaking^k.

^k The reader may consult a Mem. of mons. Walckenaer, sur la situation des Raudii Campi.

Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. ou Inst. Royal. vol. vi. p. 360.

Next in importance to Mediolanum was *Laus Pompeia*, founded, as Pliny reports, by the Boii, (III. 17.) and afterwards probably colonized by Pompeius Strabo, father of the great Pompey¹. In a letter of Cicero to his brother, it is simply called *Laus*. (II. 15.) Its position answers to that of *Lodi Vecchio*, which having been destroyed by the Milanese, the emperor Barbarossa caused the new town of *Lodi* to be built at the distance of three miles from the ancient site.

Ticinum, situated on the river from which it took *Ticinum*. its name, was founded, as Pliny reports, by the *Lævi* and *Marici*: (III. 17.) but being placed on the left bank of *Ticinus*, it would of course belong to the *Insubres*; and in fact Ptolemy (p. 64.) ascribes it to that people. Tacitus is the first author who makes mention of it. According to that historian, Augustus advanced as far as *Ticinum* to meet the corpse of Drusus, father of Germanicus, in the depth of winter, and from thence escorted it to Rome. (Ann. III. 5.) It is also frequently noticed in his Histories, (lib. II.) Ancient inscriptions give it the title of *municipium*. Under the Lombard kings, *Ticinum* assumed the name of *Papia*, which in process of time has been changed to *Pavia*. (Paul. Diacon. Rer. Lang. II. 15.)

The *Ticinus* is a very considerable stream: it *Ticinus fl.* rises on the *St. Gothard*, and passes through the *Verbanus Lacus*, *Lago Maggiore*. (Plin. III. 19.) *Verbanus Lacus*. The length of this lake is estimated by Strabo, (IV. 209.) on the authority of Polybius, at 400 stadia, or 50 Roman miles; and I believe the actual distance

¹ See *Alba Pompeia* in *Liguria*, p. 29.

between *Sesto Calende* and *Magadino*, the opposite extremities of the lake, will not be found to fall short of this computation. The waters of the Ticinus are celebrated by the poets for their clearness and beautiful colour.

..... frondentibus humida ripis
Colla levant pulcher Ticinus, &c.

CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 194.

Cæruleas Ticinus aquas, et stagna vadoso
Perspicuus servat turbare nescia fundo,
Ac nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem.
Vix credas labi: ripis tam mitis opacis,
Argutos inter volucrum certamine cantus,
Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.

SIL. ITAL. IV. 83.

Great diversity of opinion seems to exist among modern critics and military antiquaries, on the subject of the celebrated action which was fought by Scipio and Hannibal near this river, from whence it is commonly called the battle of the Ticinus. Some of these writers have placed the field of battle on the right ^m, and others on the left bank ⁿ of this stream; and of the latter again, some fix the action in the vicinity of *Pavia*, others as high as *Soma*, a little south of *Sesto Calende*. This difference of opinion may be attributed partly to the conciseness with which Polybius and Livy have recorded the event,

^m Portalupi Storia della Lomellina, p. 121. Capsoni Memorie Antiche di Pavia, I. 116. Poggiali Storia di Piacenza, I. 168. Durandi dell' antica condizione del Vercellese, p. 16. Folard. Comment. de Polybe, t. iv. p. 107. Schweighæuser, Not. ad Polyb. t. v. p. 621.

Gen. Guil. de Vaudoncourt Hist. des Campagnes d'Annibal, I. 66.

ⁿ G. Ferrari Opusc. coll. t. iv. p. 272. Campana Mon. Somæ et loc. adj. p. 15. De Luc, Hist. du Passage des Alpes par Annibal, p. 179.

and partly also to some variety of detail which is observed in their respective narrations. Polybius, however, appears to me to be clear and precise in his account; and I think that by attending to him alone, we may be sure of discovering the scene of this engagement with sufficient accuracy to answer every purpose of history. He informs us, (lib. III. cap. 64.) that P. Corn. Scipio, having landed at Pisa, and advanced to the *Po*, had crossed that river, and was employed in throwing a bridge over the Ticinus, for the purpose of passing that river also. Having exhorted his troops, he marched along the Ticinus; while the Carthaginian army, which had now come up, was advancing to meet him on the same bank of that river. The mark by which Polybius distinguishes the side of the river on which this opposite movement of the two armies took place is this; he calls it the side which faces the Alps. Now it will be evident by referring to any map of Italy, that if we take the general direction of the *Tesino* from *Sesto Calende*, to its junction with the *Po*, it can be said of its right bank only that it looks to the Alps: for though it may be contended that the left bank also ultimately fronts those mountains from the circular form of the chain; yet the expression can only be fairly understood in the former sense, as the central ridge appears to run from the head of the *Lago Maggiore*, in a direction which may be accounted nearly parallel with the stream of the river, and is kept constantly in view from the right bank; while on the left, or the Milanese side, it takes a rapid sweep to the north, and soon disappears from the sight. Taking for granted then that the armies are described as manœuvring on the right bank of the

Ticinus, it will be seen from Polybius, that Scipio's troops in marching along that bank had the stream on their left, while the Carthaginians had it on their right; from which circumstance we are to conclude, that Scipio, having crossed the Ticinus at a considerable distance above its junction with the *Po*, was moving parallel with the current; while Hannibal, who was advancing from *Turin*, probably along the *Po*, on hearing of the approach of the Roman consul, struck off in a northerly direction to meet him. The question seems now to turn on the difficulty of ascertaining the spot where Scipio threw his bridge over the Ticinus; for if we are well informed on that point, it will be easy to fix the place in which the hostile armies encountered each other with tolerable accuracy. If the opinion of a recent writer, founded on the discovery of some interesting remains of antiquity near *Sesto Calende*, is to be received °,

° Battaglia del Ticino tra Annibale e Scipione del Prof. G. Battista Giani. Milano. 1824. The hypothesis of this learned Italian is certainly ingenious, and well deserving of attention; and if we admit that the remains of the *Corneliane*, and the old piles at *Castelletto Visconti*, in the *Tesino*, are vestiges of Scipio's camp and bridge, the question will be decided; since his explanation of it harmonizes perfectly, except in one instance, with the received text of Polybius. My objection refers to the professor's interpretation of the words *ἕως μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ποταμοῦ*, c. 66. which he renders "usque ad principium fluminis," meaning, as far as the issue of the Ticinus from the

Lago Maggiore, c. iv. p. 77. This appears to me a very forced and unusual sense to give to a very simple expression. Polybius surely meant only to say, that Hannibal pursued the Romans as far as the first river, i. e. the Ticinus, with reference to the *Po* as the second, which they would have to cross in their retreat. Nor do I think that the professor has satisfactorily reconciled the narrative of Livy with that of Polybius. The Latin historian appears to place the capture of the 600 men of Scipio's rear guard on the *Po*, for the bridge which he describes was entirely composed of boats: that on the *Tesino*, according to Mr. Giani, was built on piles: added to which,

Scipio crossed the Ticinus a little below *Sesto*, and engaged Hannibal at a place called *Galliate*, about twenty miles south of the former point. But those who insist on the improbability of Scipio's advancing so high up the Ticinus as *Sesto*, when his object of preventing his adversary from deriving any support from the Insubres would be answered by marching no further than Milan, and advancing to the Ticinus from that place, will be inclined to seek for the field of battle south of *Novara*, and not far from the little town of *Vigevano*.

For reasons given in the note, we must not expect to obtain much light from Livy's account of the event which we are now investigating. But the sequel of the Greek historian's narrative fully confirms the propriety of supposing the battle to have taken place on the right bank of the Ticinus. After one day's march in the direction first stated,

the passage which immediately follows in Livy, (XXI. 47.) places the matter beyond a doubt: "Cælius auctor est, Magnus cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen ex templo transnatasse," &c. The *flumen* here meant is certainly the *Po*, and it is also the river near which the Roman detachment is captured.

There is another difficulty in Livy, which Mr. Giani has not, in my opinion, well got rid of; and till that is explained, the Roman historian's account seems wholly unintelligible. I allude to a passage in the 45th chap. "Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium," &c. It is very likely corrupt; but in its pre-

sent state how can it bear the meaning which the professor endeavours to attach to it? Livy never could have meant to say, that after the Roman army had already traversed a large portion of the Insubrian country, it was led across the Ticinus into the territory of that people. The best reason which can be assigned for placing the field of battle so high up the Ticinus as *Galliate*, and perhaps it may be thought a convincing one, is, that below that point the country is too much intersected by small streams and arms of rivers, to allow large bodies of cavalry to manœuvre freely. About *Galliate* itself, the plains are very extensive, and free from all obstruction.

the two armies halt and encamp at no great distance from each other. On the third day the two generals advance with their cavalry; when an action ensues. Scipio is defeated, and retires hastily by his bridge over the Ticinus, and subsequently across the *Po* to Placentia. Hannibal pursues him as far as the Ticinus, and takes 600 prisoners; but finding the bridge partly destroyed, and the Romans already in full retreat, he retraces his steps along the Ticinus, and hastens towards the *Po* in order to throw a bridge over that river: an object which he obtains after a march of two days along its banks, in a direction contrary to that of the stream. Soon after he conveys all his forces to the right bank of the *Po*, and now, following the course of the river, advances to meet the enemy, who were encamped near Placentia. These operations of Hannibal, as they are reported by Polybius, (III. 66.) are perfectly natural and intelligible, if we understand the action to have taken place on the right bank of the Ticinus; a few miles more or less up that stream will make no difference. On any other supposition they become inexplicable; and yet it is singular enough, that no two commentators of Polybius should agree in their explanation of the movements of the two armies prior to and after the engagement.

But I must now return to the point from which I have digressed, in order to conclude the description of the country belonging to the Insubres.

Forum Diuguntorum, or Iuguntorum, a place noticed by Ptolemy only, (p. 63.) is thought by Cluverius to have stood on the site of *Crema*.

Acerræ. Acerræ is now *Ghera* near *Pizzighettone*, on the *Adda*. It is mentioned by Polybius in the Gallic

wars as a strong and important place. (II. 34. Cf. Plut. vit. Cl. Marc. Zonar. Annal. I.) This city must not be mistaken for one of the same name in Campania. (Strab. V. 216.)

Pons Aureoli, now *Pontiruolo*, between *Milan* ^{Pons Aureoli.} and *Bergamo*, obtained its name from the defeat of the usurper Aureolus. (Aur. Vict. in Gallieno. Treb. Poll. Hist. August.) *Monza*, a place of some note about twelve miles to the north-east of *Milan*, appears to have been formerly known under the name of Modicia ^{p.} (Paul. Diacon. Rer. Lang. ^{Modicia.} IV. 22.) Cluverius quotes an inscription to prove that it was also called Moguntiacum, but it is much more likely that the Moguntiacum spoken of there is no other than *Mayence*.

We must now mention some of the Alpine nations which occupied the valleys to the north of the Insubres, though properly speaking these are beyond the limits of Cisalpine Gaul. Their position, on the south side of the Alps, may be considered however as giving them a claim to our notice. The *Le-* ^{Lepontii.} *pontii* are known to have inhabited that part of the Alps which lies between the *Great St. Bernard* and the *St. Gothard*. (Cæsar. Bell. Gall. IV. 10. Plin. III. 20. Strab. IV. 204.) Ptolemy mentions *Oscela* as one of their towns, though he seems to ^{Oscela.} confound it with *Ocelum* in the Cottian Alps; (p. 64.) but he doubtless means to speak of *Domo d'Ossola*, at the foot of the *Simplon* ^{q.}.

The *Focunates*, an Alpine people inscribed on the ^{Focunates.}

^p Frisi Memorie di Monza, I. 1.

^q Some writers have pretended, that this mountain bore

formerly the name of Mons Sempronii, or Cæpionis, but there seems no authority for such a supposition.

trophy of Augustus^r, are still to be traced, as D'Anville thinks, in the name of *Vogogna*, a place situated near the town just mentioned. The Mesiates of the Tab. Theodos. are supposed to be the inhabitants of the *Val di Misocco*. It is in their valley that we must place the Canini Campi, (Amm. Marcell. XV.) and Bilitio, now *Bellinzona*. (Paul. Diacon. III. 31.) The lake of *Lugano* is noticed by no author more ancient than Gregory of Tours; he gives it the name of Ceresius Lacus. (X. 3.) The situation of the Isarci, another tribe recorded by the trophy of the Maritime Alps, is supposed to be marked by that of *Arcisate*, a small place in the vicinity of *Varese*.

Immediately to the north of the Insubres were the Orobii, whose territory indeed would have been naturally included in that of the former people, had they not been distinguished as a separate tribe by Pliny, (III. 17.) on the authority of Cato. We are surprised at first to find a people with a Greek name in this part of Italy, but it is accounted for by the fact of a Greek colony having been settled in this district by Pompeius Strabo, and Cornelius Scipio, and subsequently by J. Cæsar. The chief seat of this colony was Comum, as we learn from Strabo. It had been hitherto an inconsiderable place, but from that time it rose to a great degree of prosperity under the name of Novum Comum^s, (V. 212.)

Poetæ tenero, meo sodali,
Velim Cæcilio, papyre, dicas;

^r See p. 22.

^s Porcacchi Nobilita della città di Como. l. p. 10.

Veronam veniat, Novi relinquens
Comi mœnia, Lariumque litus.

CATUL. XXXV.

The enemies of Cæsar, among whom the consuls Cl. Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus appear to have taken the lead, used every endeavour to ruin the colony, and even went so far as to propose a law which should deprive it of its municipal rights. (Appian. Civ. Bell. II. 26. Suet. Cæs. 28. Plut. vit. C. Cæs.) If they succeeded in their designs, it was only for a short time; since we may collect from the letters of the younger Pliny, who was born at Comum, that his native city was in his time in a very flourishing state, and in the enjoyment of all the privileges which belonged to a Roman corporation, independent of the prosperity and affluence it would naturally derive from the peculiar advantages of its situation. (Plin. Ep. III. 6. IV. 13. X. 24.) The lake to which the modern *Como* has given its name ^{Larius Lacus.} was anciently called Larius, a word supposed to be of Etruscan origin; but whatever truth there may be in this conjecture, there is no mention of it prior to the time of Polybius, who, as Strabo reports, estimated its length at three hundred stadia, and its breadth at thirty; or thirty-eight miles by four. (Strab. IV. 209.) Servius says, Cato reckoned sixty miles from one extremity to the other; and the real distance, including the lake of *Chiavenna*, is not short of that measurement; so that Virgil seems justified in saying,

Anne lacus tantos? te, Lari maxime—

GEORG. II. 159.

Pliny had two villas on this lake, which he de-

scribes. (IX. 7.) The one which he calls his Tragedy, stood probably at *Bellagio*, as from thence the view extends over both arms of the lake. The intermitting fountain, of which he gives an account, (IV. 30.) still exists under the name of *Pliniana*.

It may here be noticed, that it was usual for travellers who were going into Rhætia to embark at Comum, for *Chiavenna*, anciently Clavenna, where they found a road leading over the Rhætian Alps to Curia, *Coire*. This is the route which Claudian alludes to. (Bell. Get. 319.)

Protinus umbrosa qua vestit littus oliva
Larius, et dulci mentitur Nerea fluctu,
Parva puppe lacum prætervolat. Ocius inde
Scandit inaccessos brumali sidere montes.

Forum Li-
cinii.

Forum Licinii, a place mentioned by no other author besides Pliny, (III. 17.) is supposed by Cluverius to be *Berlasina*, half way between *Como* and *Milan*, but he observes at the same time, that it is not noticed by the Itineraries; besides, we cannot well suppose that the Orobii extended so far to the west, or approached so near to *Milan*. It is more probable that Forum Licinii stood at a small place called *Incino*, between *Como* and *Bergamo*, unless it be thought that *Lecco*, from its situation at the south-eastern extremity of the lake to which it gives its name, has a superior claim to identity with this ancient site. The Eupilis Lacus, from which the Lamber, now *Lambro*, issues, (Plin. III. 19.) is named in modern maps *Pieve d'Incino*. *Bergamum*, or *Bergomum*, now *Bergamo*, belonged also to the Orobii. (Plin. III. 17.) It was founded by the Gauls. (Just. XX. Ptol. p. 63.) In Strabo (V. 212.) Cluverius would read *Bergamum* instead of

Eupilis
Lacus.
Lamber fl.
Berga-
mum.

Rhegium. Ancient inscriptions prove it to have been a municipium ^t.

To the east of the Insubres were the Cenomani, ^{Cenomani.} who came next in the order of migration to that people, and occupied the adjacent districts. (Liv. V. 34. Polyb. II. 17.) Their country in Gaul was the province of *Maine* ^u. The Cenomani are distinguished in history from the rest of the Gauls, by the circumstance of not having joined their nation in war with Rome, and from their having even sided with that city against Hannibal. (Polyb. II. 23, and 24. Liv. XXI. 55.) Subsequently however they became hostile to the Romans. (Liv. XXXI. 10. and XXXII. 30.) The river Addua, *Adda*, separated ^{Addua fl.} the Cenomani from the Insubres to the west, and the Athesis, *l'Adige*, formed their boundary to the east. Strabo says, that the former takes its source on Mount Adula ^x, from whence the *Rhine* also flows, and after filling the lake Larius, unites with the *Po*. (V. 213.)

..... frondentibus humida ripis
Colla levant pulcher Ticinus, et Addua visu
Cærus. CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 194.

Brixia, *Brescia*, was the capital of the Cenomani, ^{Brixia.} as we learn from Livy; (XXXII. 30.) its situation is thus described by Catullus. (LXVI. v. 32.)

^t Zanchius Bergomas de Origine Orobiorum.

^u D'Anville, Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Aulerci Cenomani.

^x Either Strabo must mistake the source of these two rivers, as the *Adda* rises in the Glaciers at the extremity of the

Valtelline, the *Rhine* in those of Mount *St. Gothard* and Mount *Bernardin*; or, what is not improbable, Adula is a generic term, applicable to all the Rhætian Alps. Scheuzer, It. Alp. 4. t. ii. p. 275.

Brixia Cyneæ supposita speculæ :
 Flavus quam molli percurrit flumine Mela :
 Brixia Veronæ mater amata meæ y.

Mela fl.

The Mela here mentioned still retains its name, and is supposed to be the river of which Virgil speaks.

..... tonsis in vallibus illum
 Pastores, et curva legunt prope flumina Mellæ.

GEORG. IV. 278.

Brixia is known to have become a Roman colony, but we are not informed at what period this event took place. (Plin. III. 19.) It was also a municipium, as ancient inscriptions attest. Strabo speaks of it as inferior in size to Mediolanum and Verona. (V. 213. Ptol. p. 63.)

Minervium.

Manerbio, a village situated a few miles south of *Brescia*, is proved by inscriptions to have been anciently called Minervium z.

Cremona.

Farther south, and on the *Po*, was Cremona, which still retains its name unchanged. This city was at first probably founded by the Gauls, but subsequently it acquired a much greater degree of importance as a Roman colony; being, together with Placentia, the earliest establishment which the Romans formed in Cisalpine Gaul, for the purpose of securing their footing in that province, and overawing its turbulent inhabitants. This event occurred, according to Polybius, the year before Hannibal invaded Italy, or 535 U. C. (Polyb. III. 40. Conf. Liv. XXI. 25. Vell. Pater. I. 14.) After the defeat on the Trebia, we find the consul, P. Scipio, retiring to Cremona; (Liv. XXI. 56. App. Han. 7.) and it appears that the

y See the notes of Vulpian on this passage.

z Ital. Ant. I. p. 295.

Romans retained the place throughout the whole of the second Punic war, though it suffered so much during its continuance, and afterwards from the attacks of the Gauls, that it was found necessary to recruit its population by a fresh supply of colonists. (Liv. XXXVII. 46.)

The colony being thus renewed, continued to prosper for nearly an hundred and fifty years; when the civil wars, which ensued after the death of Cæsar, materially affected its interests. Cremona unfortunately espoused the cause of Brutus, and thus incurred the vengeance of the victorious party. The loss of its territory, which was divided among the veteran soldiers of Augustus, is well known from the line of Virgil:

Mantua vœ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!

ECL. IX. 28.

Nearly repeated by Martial:

Jugera perdiderat miseræ vicina Cremonæ.

VIII. EP. 55.

The effect of this calamity would however be but temporary: and in fact we learn from Strabo, that Cremona was accounted in his time one of the most considerable towns in the north of Italy. (V. 216.) The civil wars which arose during the reigns of Otho and Vitellius were the source of much severer affliction to this city than any former evil; as the fate of the empire was more than once decided between large contending armies in its immediate vicinity. After the defeat of Vitellius's party by the troops of Vespasian, it was entered by the latter, and exposed to all the horrors which fire, the sword, and the ungoverned passions of a licentious soldiery can

inflict upon a city taken by storm. The conflagration of this unhappy town lasted four days; “and thus was destroyed,” as Tacitus says, “a colony, which for 285 years had flourished and prospered from its advantageous situation with respect to rivers, and the fertility of its territory, as well as by intermarriages with the surrounding nations: uninjured by foreign attacks, it fell a victim to civil war.” The indignation which this event excited throughout Italy seems to have been such, that Vespasian, afraid of the odium it might attach to his party, used every effort to raise Cremona from its ruins, by recalling the scattered inhabitants, reconstructing the public edifices, and granting the city fresh privileges. (Tacit. Hist. III. 33. and 34. Plin. III. 19. Ptol. p. 63. Dio Cass. LXIV. and LXV.)

Bedria-
cum.

A small place named Bedriacum, near the city of which we have been speaking, witnessed both the success of Vitellius over Otho, and the defeat of his generals by Antonius, lieutenant of Vespasian. From Tacitus, who is most circumstantial in his narrative of these events, it may be collected, that Bedriacum, or Bebriacum, for it is written both ways, was situated on the Via Posthumia, the road which led from Cremona to Mantua, about fifteen miles from the former city, and at no great distance from the *Po*. Cluverius imagined that *Caneto*, a small town on the river *Oglio*, might represent the situation of Bedriacum, but he is not correct in this supposition; the Via Posthumia passed to the south of *Caneto*, and crossed the *Oglio* much nearer its junction with the *Po*^a. D’Anville is more accurate in fixing the

^a Giacom. Filiasi Strada Romana-Mantovana. Guast. 1792. 8vo.

position of Bedriacum at *Cividale*^b. (Tacit. Hist. II. 23. et seq. Hist. III. 15. Plut. vit. Oth. Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. 8. Oros. VII. 8. Eutrop. VII. Plin. X. 49. Aurel. Vict. in Oth.) There was a temple and grove sacred to Castor, between Cremona and Bedriacum. (Suet. in Oth. 9. Tacit. Hist. II. 24.)

Vulturina, or Vulturnia, an obscure place mentioned ^{Vulturina.} by Paul. Diacon. (Rer. Lang. IV. 24.) is, according to Cluverius, *Valdoria*, on the left bank of the Po, between Cremona and *Bressello*.

Mantua, in Italian *Mantova*, is supposed to date ^{Mantua.} its foundation long before the arrival of the Gauls in Italy. Virgil tells us it was of Tuscan origin, and derived its name from the prophetess Manto, the daughter of Tiresias.

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,
 Fatidicæ Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
 Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen;
 Mantua, dives avis; sed non genus omnibus unum:
 Gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni;
 Ipsa caput populis; Tusco de sanguine vires.

ÆN. X. 198.^c

Whatever of poetical invention there may be in the origin thus ascribed to Mantua, there can be no doubt of its having been a town of considerable note among the Etruscans, when they were in possession of that part of Italy which we are now examining. (Plin. III. 19.) The situation of the ancient town was not different from that which the modern Mantua at present occupies. It was placed on an island surrounded by the waters of the Mincius, *Mincio*. ^{Mincius fl.}

^b D'Anville, Geogr. Ancienne. Fol. p. 48.

^c See Servius's commentary on the passage.

Primus ego in patriam mecum (modo vita supersit)
 Aonio, rediens, deducam vertice Musas ;
 Primus Idumæas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas ;
 Et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
 Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
 Mincius, et tenera prætexit arundine ripas.

GEORG. III. 10.

(Conf. Liv. XXIV. 10.^d) That it was not a place of any size in Virgil's time, may be collected from what the poet himself says of it.

Urbem, quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe, putavi
 Stultus ego, huic nostræ similem, quo sæpe solemus
 Pastores ovium teneros depellere fœtus.
 Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hædos
 Noram ; sic parvis componere magna solebam.

ECL. I. 20.

Strabo classes it with Brixia, Bergamum, and Comum, (V. 213.) but Martial attaches to it the epithet "parva."

Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo,
 Quantum parva suo Mantua Virgilio.

XIV. EP. 193.

Its vicinity to Cremona was an unhappy circumstance to Mantua ; for as the territory of the former city was not found sufficient to contain the veteran soldiers of Augustus, amongst whom it had been

^d Cluverius applies to Mantua the little poem of Catullus, beginning with

O Colonia, quæ cupis ponte ludere
 ligneo, &c. CARM. 17.

and supposes that the bridge spoken of by the poet connected Mantua with the land on the side of Verona. This

supposition would agree very well in other respects ; but as it does not appear that Mantua was ever a colony, we must, with most of the commentators of Catullus, believe that Comum is the Colonia spoken of. See Vulpius on the passage.

divided, the deficiency was supplied from the neighbouring lands of the latter;—a loss most feelingly deplored by Virgil, though he was fortunate enough to escape from the effects of this oppressive measure.

Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,
Pascentem niveos herboso flumine cynos.
Non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina deerunt :
Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.

GEORG. II. 198.

Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis,
Mantua, vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ !
Cantantes sublime ferent ad æthera cycni^e.

ECL. IX. 27.

Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt :
Et tibi magna satis : quamvis lapis omnia nudus,
Limosoque palus obducat pascua junco.

ECL. I. 47.

We are informed by the grammarian Donatus, in his life of Virgil, that this great poet was born at Andes, a village near Mantua. (Cf. Hieron. Chron. Andes. Euseb. II. and Sil. Italic. VIII. 594.)

Mantua mittenda certavit pube Cremonæ :
Mantua Musarum domus, atque ad sidera cantu
Evecta Andino, et Smyrnæis æmula plectris.

Tradition has long assigned to a small place, now named *Pietola*, the honour of representing this birth-place of Virgil ; but as this opinion appears to derive no support from the passages in which the poet is supposed to speak of his farm, the prevailing notion

^e See Servius's commentary on the passage.

among the learned seems to contradict the popular report which identifies Andes with *Pietola*^f. It should be observed, however, that Virgil's birth-place and his farm may not necessarily have been one and the same; in which case I know of no argument which can be objected to a local but very ancient and well established tradition.

Below Mantua, and near the junction of the *Minicio* and the *Po*, a small place named *Ostiglia* is evidently the Hostilia Vicus spoken of by Pliny. (XXI. 12. and Tacit. Hist. II. 100. III. 9. Cassiod. Var. Ep. II. 31.)

Verona. Verona is the last of the towns belonging to the Cenomani, which remains to be spoken of. The history of its foundation is somewhat uncertain, for Pliny (III. 19.) ascribes it to the Rhæti and Euganei, Alpine nations, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak; while Livy (V. 35.) as positively attributes it to the Cenomani. So also Justin (XX.) and Catullus, in a passage already quoted, calls Brixia the metropolis of Verona. (LXVI. 34.) It will be easy to reconcile these two opinions, by admitting that the Cenomani made this settlement in the territory formerly possessed by the Rhæti and Euganei. It was advantageously situated on the Athesis, *l'A-dige*, the most considerable river of Italy after the *Po*.

Tum Verona Athesi circumflua—

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 597.

And under the Roman dominion it soon became a large and flourishing city. (Strab. V. 212.) It is

^f Maffei Verona Illust. t. ii. l. Bonelli Mem. Mantov. I. 120. Viso Memorie Istoriche, I. 31.

supposed to have been colonized by Pompeius Strabo, with other cities already mentioned. (Constant. Paneg. Ascon. Pedian. in Cic. Orat. in L. Pis.) Tacitus speaks of it in later times as a most opulent and important colony, the possession of which enabled Vespasian's party to begin offensive operations against the forces of Vitellius, and to strike a decisive blow. (Hist. III. 8.) The celebrity of Verona is farther established as being the birth-place of Catullus,

Mantua Virgilio gaudet, Verona Catullo.

OVID. AMOR. III. EL. 14.

Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo,

Quantum parva suo Mantua Virgilio.

MART. XIV. EP. 193.

and of Pliny the naturalist, who in his preface calls himself the countryman of Catullus^g.

It was in the neighbourhood of Verona that the famous Rhætic wine, so highly commended by Virgil, was grown.

..... et quo te carmine dicam,
Rhætica? ne cellis ideo contende Falernis.

GEORG. II. 94.

(Cf. Plin. XIII. 1. and 6. Suet. Aug. 77. Strab. IV. 206.)

We have now to speak of a mountainous tract of country situated to the north of the Cenomani, and extending from the lake of *Como* to the *Adige*. Without entering into a minute inquiry respecting the territory actually occupied by each tribe, it may

^g For a detailed history of Verona, as collected from inscriptions and other monuments, see the work of the learned Scipio Maffei, entitled *Verona Illustrata*, 2 vol. fol.

suffice to say, that the valleys into which this northern portion of Italy are divided, were anciently peopled by the Rhæti and Euganei.

Rhæti.

Of the former, we know that they constituted a numerous and powerful nation, reaching far on the northern side of the Alps, between the Helvetii and Vindelici. (Strab. IV. 206. Plin. III. 20. Ptol. p. 55.) Respecting their origin, we are taught by Livy (V. 35.) to consider them, like many other Alpine nations, as a remnant of the ancient Tuscans, who on the invasion of the Gauls left the plains to seek for shelter in the mountains, under the command of a chief named Rhætus, from whom they derived their new appellation. (Cf. Justin. XX. Plin. III. 20.) Livy seems to consider this account, as far as the Rhæti more especially are concerned, to be beyond doubt; and he adds as a proof of the fact, that the Rhæti, though rendered wild and savage by this change of soil and climate, retained enough of their former language, however altered and corrupted from the original dialect, to establish the identity of the two idioms^h.

The Rhæti were able to preserve their independence till the reign of Augustus, when they were reduced by the Roman armies under the command of

^h Some modern writers have fancied that they could discover in the language of the *Grisons*, who now represent the ancient Rhæti, some proofs of the facts asserted by the Roman historian Ægidius. Tschud. de prisca et vera Alpina Rhætia, c. 3. A. Porta Chron. Rhætic. v. i. p. 6.

Others again have held a very opposite opinion to that of Livy;

for so far from admitting that the Rhæti are descended from the Tuscans, they maintain that the reverse is the case. The academician Freret, who is the author of this bold hypothesis, does not seem however to advance a single proof in support of it. Mém. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 98. Gibbon, Misc. Works, vol. iii. p. 240.

Drusus and Tiberius Nero. Horace has in more than one passage extolled the exploits of these generals.

Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici.

OD. IV. 4. 17.

Major Neronum mox grave prælium
Commisit, immanesque Rhætos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis.

OD. IV. 14. 14.

(Cf. Suet. Aug. 21. Tib. 9. Strab. IV. 206. Vell. Pater. II. 39.)

We may notice the following petty nations, as belonging to the Rhæti on the Italian or south side of the Alps. The Genauni and Breuni, recorded by Horace in the Ode last cited, ver. 9.

Genauni.
Breuni.

..... milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces, et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Dejecit acer plus vice simplici.

and by Strabo, (IV. 206.) occupied the *Val d'Agno* and *Val Braunia*, to the east and north-east of the *Lago Maggiore*. The Culicones of Ptolemy (p. 55.) may be traced in the *Val di Colico*, on the north-eastern shore of the lake of *Como*. The Vennonnes (Strab. IV. 206.) are generally understood to be the inhabitants of the *Valtelline*.

Culicones.

Vennonnes.

The Rugusci and Suanetes, who, with the two last mentioned people, were inscribed on the trophy of the Alps, (Plin. III. 20. Ptol. p. 55.) may be placed in the upper valleys of the *Serio* and *Brembo*, the Humatia and Ubartus of the Tabula Theodosiana. The Naunes are the inhabitants of the valley of

Rugusci.
Suanetes.

Humatia fl.
Ubartus fl.

Naunes.

Venno-
netes.

Non, and still further north the Vennonetes are to be placed in the valley of *Venosca*, towards the source of the *Adige*, in the *Tirol*; and it may be observed, that the name of this province is derived from Terioli, a small place situated in this valley. (Not. Imp. Occident.) What remains to be considered of Rhætia, to the east of the *Adige*, will be treated of in the next section.

Terioli.

Euganei.

The Euganei are spoken of as one of the most ancient nations of Italy, and as having once occupied all the country, to which the Veneti, its subsequent possessors, communicated the name of Venetia. (Liv. I. 1.) Driven from their ancient abodes, the Euganeiⁱ appear to have retired across the *Adige*, and to have settled on the shores of the lakes of *Iseo*, *Idro*, and *Garda*, and in the adjacent valleys. Pliny says, on the authority of Cato, that they held at one time thirty-four towns: these were admitted to the rights of Latin cities under Augustus. (V. 20.)

Camuni.

To these belong the Camuni, whose name is easily recognised in that of the modern *Val Camonica*, situated near the source of the *Oglio*. (Plin. III. 20.)

Vannia.

A small place in this valley named *Cividà* is supposed to be the Vannia of Ptolemy. (p. 63. and Pliny III. 19.) The *Oglio*, a river only noticed by Pliny,

Ollius fl.

under the name of Ollius, forms south of this valley a lake, whose ancient name, according to the same writer, was Sebinus, now *Lago d'Iseo*; (III. 19.)

Sebinus
Lacus.

and Cluverius conceives, reasonably enough,[§] that a place called Sebum must have stood on the site of the modern *Iseo*.

Sebum.

ⁱ Cluverius (It. Ant. I. 103.) would read *Εὐγανέων* for *Βεχονέων*, in Ptolemy, p. 63. and per-

haps *Ἀγώνες* (Polyb. II. 15.) should be *Εὐγανέες*.

The Triumpilini (Plin. III. 20.) were to the south-<sup>Triumpi-
lini.</sup> east of the foregoing people; they occupied the *Val Trompia*, a few miles north of *Brescia*. To the north-east of these we may notice Edrum, now *Idro*,^{Edrum.} a town which gives its name to the small lake on which it stands. The river which issues from this lake is the ancient Cleusis, *Chiese*. (Polyb. II. 32.)^{Cleusis fl.} Vobarna is *Boarno*, and Sabium *Savio*, both on the<sup>Vobarna.
Sabium.</sup> same river. A few miles to the east will bring us to the shores of the *Lago di Garda*, the ancient Benacus. This lake, which is formed by the Min-<sup>Benacus
Lacus.</sup> cius, *Mincio*, (Plin. IX. 22.) is stated by Strabo, on the authority of Polybius, (IV. 209.) to be 500 stadia long and 150 broad; that is, 62 miles by 18: but the real dimensions, according to the best maps, do not appear to exceed 30 modern Italian miles in length, and 9 in breadth; which, according to the ancient Roman scale, would be nearly 35 by 12.

The Benacus is twice noticed by Virgil.

An mare, quod supra, memorem; quodque alluit infra?
Anne lacus tantos? te, Lari maxime; teque
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino?

GEORG. II. 158.

Hinc quoque quingentos in se Mezentius armat,
Quos patre Benaco, velatus arundine glauca,
Mincius infesta ducebat in æquora pinu.

ÆN. X. 204.

And by Claudian. (Epithal. Pallad. et Cel.)

Undique concurrunt volucres quæcunque frementem
Permulent Athesim cantu, quas Larius audit,
Quas Benacus alit, quas excipit amne quieto
Mincius.

Near the western shore of this lake, I have to<sup>Tuscula-
num.</sup> point out a place named *Toscúlano*, which the simi-

larity of sound would alone lead us to consider as having been anciently called Tusculanum, if the conjecture was not confirmed by an ancient inscription cited by Cluverius^k. *Materno*, situated on the lake itself, according to the same authority, would be the ancient Maternum. Towards the north, *Sarraca*, *Bretina*, and *Anaunium*, obscure places, only recorded by Ptolemy, (p. 63.) are with probability supposed to be *Sarca*, *Brentino*, *Non*, the latter belonging to the Naunes, a Rhætian people already mentioned. *Brentonicum* and *Maletum*, noticed by Paul. Diacon. (III. 31.) as castles destroyed in an invasion of the Franks, are *Brentonico* and *Maleto*. The *Stoni* of Pliny (III. 20.) are conceived to be the inhabitants of the *Val di Steneco*.

Sirmio peninsula. On the north-western shore of the lake of *Garda* is the peninsula of *Sirmione*, so celebrated as the favourite residence of Catullus.

Peninsularum, Sirmio, insularumque
 Ocelle, quascunque in liquentibus stagnis
 Marique vasto fert uterque Neptunus:
 Quam te libenter, quamque lætus invisio!
 Vix mi ipse credens Thyniam, atque Bithynos
 Liquisse campos, et videre te in tuto.
 O quid solutis est beatius curis?
 Cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino
 Labore fessi venimus Larem ad nostrum,
 Desideratoque acquiescimus lecto.
 Hoc est, quod unum est pro laboribus tantis.
 Salve, o venusta Sirmio, atque hero gaude.
 Gaudete vosque, Lydiæ lacus undæ^l.
 Ridete quicquid est domi cachinnorum.

XXXI.

^k Ital. Ant. I. p. 107.

^l The poet calls the Benacus
 "the Lydian waters," in allu-

sion to the supposed origin of
 the Tuscans, who once possess-
 ed this country.

The fortress of *Peschiera*, placed at the southern extremity of the lake, and where the *Mincio* issues from it, stands nearly^m on the site of the ancient Ar-Ardelica. delica, as the name ought to be written, according to several inscriptions, and not Ariolica, as it is in the Itinerary of Theodosius.

Having now concluded the account of that part of Cisalpine Gaul which is situated north of the *Po*, we must cross that river in order to describe the southern portion of this province.

Beginning from the west on the borders of Li-Gallia Cis-guria we first come to a tribe of Gauls, respecting^{padana.} whose real name much uncertainty seems to exist, from the variety of forms under which it occurs in the text of Polybius, the only author who has certified their existence. Sometimes it is written Ananes, Anamanes, or Anamani, and even Andres. (II. Anamani. 17. and 32.ⁿ) The Latin form of Anamani will perhaps come nearest to the truth. It appears from the testimony of Polybius, that they occupied a small district bounded by the Apennines and *Po* towards the north and south, and perhaps by the *Tidone* to the west, and the Tarus, *Taro*, to the south-east. It may be observed, that Livy never mentions these Gauls by any specific name, though he seems to distinguish them from their more numerous and powerful neighbours the Boii. (XXI. 52. and XXXIV. 4.)

The nature of the country occupied by these Gauls, intersected as it was by numerous streams descending from the *Apennines*, could not have allowed them to build many towns. That of Veleia Veleia.

^m D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 75.

ⁿ Ed. Schweighauser, var. lect. p. 261. vol. i.

which Cluverius from his ignorance of its position has assigned to Liguria, must certainly be restored to them; for the Veleiates are mentioned in a fragment of the *Fasti Capitolini*, as a distinct people from the Ligurians. (*Sigon. Fast. Cap.*) This fact, and the situation of the place without the boundaries which have been assigned to Liguria, sufficiently prove the point. Pliny is the only author who has mentioned Veleia in such a manner as to enable us to ascertain its locality with any degree of certainty; when, noticing some towns of the *Regio Cispadana* which had furnished remarkable instances of longevity in their inhabitants, he cites with others “the town of Veleia, situated among the hills near *Placentia*.” (*VII. 49. Cf. Phleg. Trall. de Long.*) But this description was too general to lead the ancient topographer with precision to the spot on which the city once stood, if chance had not assisted him in the search, by bringing its hidden ruins to light. Its overthrow appears to have been caused by the fall of the mountain at the base of which it stood; and owing to this unusual circumstance, the remains of antiquity which were dug out of the ruins were in greater number, and in a more perfect state, than in any other ancient city of Italy, with the exception of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii*. Among other interesting monuments found here, I may mention the brassen tables, which record a donation made by the emperor *Trajan*, of a considerable sum, to be employed in the purchase of lands for the support of a certain number of poor children of both sexes °.

° *Muratori Spozizione della Tavola Alimentaria etc. Firenze, 1749. 8vo.*

This monument is more particularly interesting to the topographer, as it contains an exact description of all the lands and farms that were purchased with this benefaction, both in the vicinity of Veleia, and elsewhere ^p. It was found in 1747, at a short distance from the remains of the town, which were only discovered in 1761. In consequence of this discovery, we are enabled to fix the position of Veleia on the right bank of the river Nura ^q, and about ^{Nura fl.} eighteen miles south of *Piacenza*, above the hamlets of *Mancinesso* and *Liveia*.

But the most important city in this part of Gaul ^{Placentia.} was Placentia, now *Piacenza*. It was colonized by the Romans with Cremona 535 U. C. to serve as a bulwark against the Gauls, and to oppose the threatened approach of Hannibal. (Polyb. III. 40. Liv. XXI. 25. Vell. Pat. I. 14.) Its utility in this latter respect was fully proved, by affording a secure retreat to the Roman general after the battle of the Ticinus, and more especially after the disaster of the Trebia. (Polyb. III. 66. Liv. XXI. 56. Appian. Bell. Han. 7.) Placentia withstood all the efforts of the victorious Hannibal, and eleven years after, the attempts which his brother Asdrubal made to obtain possession of it. (Liv. XXI. 57. and XXVII. 39.) The resistance which it offered to the latter caused a delay which led to his overthrow, and thus eventually perhaps saved the empire. After the termination of the second Punic war it was however taken and burned by the Gauls, headed by Hamil-

^p Ant. Giac. Cara dei paghi dell' agro Vellejate nominati nella tavola Trajana Alimentaria. Vercelli. 1798. 8vo.

^q This is an ancient name, as we find it noticed by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna.

car the Carthaginian; (Liv. XXXI. 10.) but soon after was restored by the consul Valerius, 557 U. C. (Liv. XXXIV. 21.) Hence the character which Silius Italicus ascribes to this city by anticipation.

Certavit Mutinæ quassata Placentia bello.

VIII. 593.

Placentia had acquired the rights of a municipal city in Cicero's time. (Orat. in Pison. 1.) Strabo speaks of it as a celebrated town; (V. 216.) and Tacitus extols it as a powerful and opulent colony. (Hist. II. 17. et seq.) Its theatre, situated without the walls, was burnt in the civil war between Otho and Vitellius. (Suet. Oth. 9. Plut. Oth. Plin. III. 15. Ptol. p. 64.)

Emporium
Placentiæ.

From the mention of its emporium by Livy, (XXI. 57.) it would seem, that Placentia was not actually on the *Po*, though at no great distance from it; since the inhabitants of Placentia are represented as being aroused by the noise of Hannibal's attack on the emporium.

Vicumniæ.

Vicumniæ, another place noticed by the same historian in this neighbourhood, is with great probability supposed to be *Vicomune*, a village between *Chiasteggio* and *Broni*.

Trebia fl.

The river Trebia, which still preserves its name, rises in the Apennines, and after a course of about fifty miles falls into the *Po*, a little to the west of Placentia. It is rendered memorable by the severe defeat which the Romans sustained on its banks.

Qualem Gargani campum, Trebiæque paludem,
Et Tyrrhena vada, et Phaethontis viderat amnem
Strage virum undantem. SIL. ITAL. XVII. 601.

O miseræ sortis, quod non in Punica nati
Tempora Cannarum fuimus, Trebiæque juvenus.

LUCAN. II. 45.

As it may be interesting to ascertain with some degree of precision the spot on which this celebrated action was fought, it will be worth while to trace for that purpose the previous steps of the two contending armies, and examine the local features of the scene, as they are sketched by Polybius and Livy. We are informed by these historians, that after the check he had met with on the Ticinus, Scipio hastily withdrew his forces from that river, and finally retired across the *Po* also to Placentia, where he fixed his quarters, waiting for the reinforcements which his colleague, T. Sempronius Gracchus, was bringing up to his support. Meanwhile Hannibal, having crossed the *Po* about two days' march above Placentia, advanced on the right bank of that river. On the second day he arrived within a short distance of Scipio's camp, which was situated six miles in advance of Placentia, on the left bank of the Trebia. Hannibal offers battle, but Scipio declines an engagement, and subsequently retires to the right bank of the Trebia with trifling loss. Here he takes up a strong position on the hills, and is soon after joined by the other consul. The two armies remain in presence of each other on opposite banks of the Trebia. The Romans having decided upon engaging, cross the river, and attack under every disadvantage the Carthaginian army, prepared for action by every method which the superior skill and care of its great leader had been able to devise. The victory under these circumstances does not remain doubtful: the Romans are defeated with great

slaughter. Those that escape from the field retire to Placentia, along the left bank of the Trebia. (Polyb. III. 66—75. Liv. XXI. 48, 54. et seq.)

It appears then that the battle was fought on the left bank of the Trebia, and between that river and the *Tidone*. The Roman camp may be placed on the right bank of the Trebia, about eight miles higher up than Placentia, where the hills begin to rise towards the Apennines; that of Hannibal nearer the *Tidone*, resting on that river and the heights of *Campremoldo*. The rivulet, close to which Hannibal placed his ambush, would then be that which passes by the villages of *Casaleggio* and *Centora*, and unites with the Trebia about five miles above its junction with the Po⁹. It may be observed, that there is some confusion in Livy's account of the retreat of the Romans to Placentia after the battle. Those who were engaged, would of course have to cross the river in order to reach that place; but it would not be necessary that the troops, which remained on the right bank to guard the camp, should do so, as they were on the same side of the river as Placentia. (XXI. 56.)

With this brilliant success, Hannibal's first campaign in Italy may be said to have terminated. His advance from the Trebia and subsequent progress to the south will be adverted to, as far as they are connected with the ancient topography of Italy, when a proper opportunity presents itself.

At Placentia we fall in with the Via Æmilia, which will facilitate the description of the rest of

⁹ See Gen. Fred. Guil. de Vaudoncourt, Hist. des Campagnes d'Annibal, vol. i.

Gallia Cispadana, since most of the towns of that portion of the province are known to have been situated upon it. The first place of note is Fiden-^{Fidentia.} tia, about twenty miles from Placentia, near which Sylla's party gained a victory over Carbo. (Vell. Pater. II. 28. Liv. Epit. LXXXVIII. Cf. Phleg. Trall. de Long. Ptol. p. 64. Plin. III. 15.) From the martyrdom of saint Donninus, Fidentia has obtained the name of *Borgo San Donnino*. The ^{Tarus fl.} river Tarus, *Taro*, (Plin. III. 16.) which we cross soon after, may be considered as separating the settlements of the Gauls, of whom we have been speaking, from those of the Boii, a people whose extent ^{Boii.} of territory and numbers must have given them, if not the first, at least a very distinguished place among the several tribes of their nation. Their original seat in Gaul cannot exactly be defined; though, as D'Anville observes, they must have been contiguous to the Helvetii^r, having joined that people in their incursion into the Roman province.

But it should be observed, that Cæsar reports them on that occasion to have come from beyond the Rhine, and it is natural enough to suppose, from the analogy which subsists between their name and that of the ancient *Bavarians*, that they were in fact Germans. (Cæs. Bell. Gall. I. 5. Cf. Strab. IV. 206.^s)

The wars of the Boii and Romans in Italy were

^r Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Boii.

^s The Romans in early times applied the denomination of Gauls indiscriminately to the people of Germany, as well as to the natives of that country

to which it properly belongs. Cluver. Germ. Antiq. lib. i.

Another division of the Boii is known to have settled in the country, which from them took the name of Bohemia. Aventinus, Annal. Boiorum.

long and desperate; (Polyb. II. 17. et seq.) and the contest was so often renewed, that the latter, though always victorious, had no other means of securing their conquests, but by removing these restless and refractory subjects from Italy to the borders of Pannonia and Illyria. (Strab. V. 213.) But even here their turbulent disposition did not suffer them to remain tranquil, till they had been totally extirpated by the Dacæ and Getæ, and not a trace was left of their existence but a desert tract commemorative of their name. (Plin. III. 24.) Some idea may be formed of the prosperity and wealth of this nation whilst it remained in Italy, from the statement made by the consul Scipio Nasica, of the numbers slain and taken prisoners in the last war undertaken against them, and from the value of the booty displayed on the occasion of his triumph. (Liv. XXXVI. 40.) The territory occupied by the Boii may be generally described as lying between the *Taro* and the *Po*, to the west and north; and between the Apennines and the Rubicon to the south. They did not extend towards the east as far as the Adriatic, for we hear of the Lingones occupying the marshy district which runs along the coast of that sea south of the *Po*, from Ferrara to Ravenna.

The first city belonging to the Boii which we find on the Via *Æmilia*, after having crossed the *Tarus*, is Parma, which, together with the little river on which it is situated, has undergone no change in its name. Whether this city was founded by the Gauls, or more anciently by the Tuscans, is uncertain; we only know that it received a Roman colony 569. U. C. (Liv. XXXIX. 55.) From Cicero it may be inferred, that Parma was attached to the party of

Parma.

Parma fl.

Antony, and suffered from the adverse faction in the civil wars. (Ad Fam. X. Ep. 33. and XII. 5.) It was probably re-colonized under Augustus, as some inscriptions give it the title of Colonia Julia Augusta Parma. Strabo speaks of it as a city of note. (V. 216. Plin. III. 15. Ptol. p. 64.) From Martial we learn that its wool was highly prized.

Velleribus primis Apulia, Parma secundis

Nobilis.

XIV. EP. 53.

Magnaue Niliacæ servit tibi gleba Syenæ,

Tondet et innumeros Gallica Parma greges.

V. EP. 13.

About eight miles distant from Parma was Tane- Tanetum. tum, now *Taneto*, mentioned by Polybius (III. 40.) and Livy (XXI. 25.) as the place to which L. Manlius, the Roman pretor, retired, after an unsuccessful action with the Boii at the beginning of the second Punic war. It is also noticed by Pliny. (III. 15. Ptol. p. 64. Phleg. Trall. de Long.) The little river *Nicia* fl. Nicia, (Plin. III. 16.) which the Æmilian way crossed a little before Tanetum, is now called *la Lenza*.

The next town is Forum Lepidi, or, as it was more commonly called, Regium Lepidum, now *Reggio*. (Fest. v. Rhegium. Strab. V. 216. Ptol. p. 64. Tacit. Hist. II. 50.) In Cicero we find it sometimes under the name of Regium Lepidi, (Ep. ad Fam. XII. 5.) or simply Regium. (XI. 9.) This town probably owes its origin to M. Æmilius Lepidus, who laid down the famous road on which we are now proceeding; but when or from what cause it took the surname of Regium is unknown. It is further noticed in history as having witnessed the death of the elder Brutus by order of Pompey, to whom

Forum Lepidi, postea Regium Lepidum.

he had surrendered himself. (Liv. Epit. XC. Val. Max. VI. 8. Plut. Vit. Pomp. Oros. V. 22.)

Macri
Campi.

The inhabitants are denominated Regienses a Lepido by Pliny. (III. 15.) In the vicinity of Regium was a plain, in which an annual fair of cattle was held; it was known by the name of Macri Campi. (Varr. de R. Rust. in Præf. L. II. Colum. VII. 2.) Strabo seems to mention it as a small town; (V. 216.) as also Livy. (XLI. 18. and XLV. 12.) This last author speaks of it, in conjunction with two mountains called Sicimina and Papinius; a circumstance which naturally leads to the idea, that these Macri Campi extended towards the Apennines, south of the Æmilian way, without its being necessary to fix on the exact spot to which the name was attached.

Sicimina et
Papinius,
montes.

Gabellus,
vel Secia, fl.

Mutina.

After crossing the Gabellus of Pliny, (III. 16.) or, according to the Jerusalem Itinerary, the Secia, which comes nearer to the modern name of *la Secchia*, the Æmilian way takes us to Mutina, now *Modena*, a Roman colony often mentioned in history, and more particularly during the stormy period which intervened between the death of Cæsar and the reign of Augustus. Livy asserts, (XXXIX. 55.) that Mutina was colonized the same year with Parma, that is, 569 U.C.; but Polybius speaks of it as a Roman colony thirty-four years prior to that date. (III. 40.) Cicero styles it, “firmissimam et splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam.” (Phil. V. 9.) It sustained a severe siege against the troops of Antony U.C. 709. D. Brutus, who defended the place, being apprised of the approach of the consuls Hirtius and Pansa by means of carrier pigeons, made an obstinate defence.

Antony being finally defeated by those generals and

Octavian, was forced to raise the siege. (Liv. Epit. CXVIII. and CXIX. Cic. Ep. Fam. X. 14. Brut. Ep. 5. Appian. Civ. Bell. III. Dio Cass. XLVI. Vell. Pater. II. 61. Flor. IV. 4. Plut. Vit. Cic. et Ant. Suet. Aug. 10. Tacit. Hist. I. 50.)

His, Cæsar, Perusina fames, Mutinæque labores,
Accedant fati. LUCAN. I. 41.

Hesperiae clades, et flebilis unda Pachyni,
Et Mutina, et Leucas pueros fecere Philippos.
ID. VII. 871.

Mutina was famous also for its wool. (Strab. V. 218. Colum. VII. 2.)

Sutor cerdo dedit tibi culta Bononia munus ;
Fullo dedit Mutinæ. MART. III. EP. 58.

From Tacitus we learn that it was a municipium. (Hist. II. 52. Cf. Strab. V. 216. Plin. III. 15. Pomp. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. 64.) A little beyond Mutina we cross the Scultenna, now called *Panaro*. (Strab. V. ^{Scultenna fl.} 218. Liv. XLI. 12. and 18. Plin. III. 16.) The first place which we find afterwards is Forum Gallorum, ^{Forum Gallorum.} rendered remarkable by some important actions which were fought there during the siege of *Modena*. Sergius Galba, in a letter to Cicero, (ad Fam. X. Ep. 30.) gives him an account of these battles. From this it appears, that Mark Antony, being aware that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were advancing to raise the siege, left the blockade in charge of his brother, and moved forward with all the force he could dispose of to meet the enemy. Pansa having arrived first, began the action with his division ; but as it consisted chiefly of raw troops, he was defeated, and driven back with loss, he himself being mortally wounded. Hirtius and Octavian however having

subsequently come up with their forces, Antony was again attacked, and after another severe engagement at Forum Gallorum, was totally routed. (Cf. Appian. Civ. Bell. III. 70.)

The position of this place seems to agree with that of *Castel Franco*. The road we are following next passes over the little river Lavinius, *Lavino*, and afterwards the Rhenus, *Reno*, celebrated in history for the meeting of the second triumvirate, which took place U. C. 709, in an island formed by its stream. (Plut. Cic. et Ant. Dio Cass. XLVI. Suet. Aug. 96.) Appian (Civ. Bell. IV. 2.) seems to place the island in the Lavinius; but his testimony ought not stand against the authority of the authors above cited, who all agree in placing the scene of the event close to *Bologna*. The spot which witnessed this famous meeting is probably that which is now known by the name of *Crocetta del Trebbo*, where there is an island in the Rheno about half a mile long, and one third broad, and about two miles to the west of *Bologna*. Serafino Calindri, who has written an elaborate dissertation on the subject in order to reconcile Appian with the other historians, endeavours to prove, that formerly the Lavinius and Rhenus united their streams much nearer *Bologna*^t.

Felsina,
postea Bononia.

Bononia, now *Bologna*, is known to have existed under the name of Felsina as an Etruscan city of celebrity, prior to the invasion of the Boii. Pliny indeed states it to have been the principal seat of the Tuscans; an expression however which must be understood to apply only with reference to the cities

^t Serafino Calindri Dissert. dell' Isola del Triumvirato, p. 42.

founded by that illustrious nation north of the Apennines. (Plin. III. 15.)

Et quondam Teucris comes in Laurentia bella
Oeni prisca domus, parvique Bononia Rheni.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 600.

The name of Felsina is also acknowledged by Livy. (XXXIII. 37.)

Bononia received a Roman colony 653 U. C. (Liv. (XXXVII. 57. Vell. Pater. I. 15.) Frequent mention of this city is made in the civil wars which have already been so often adverted to. (Cic. ad Fam. XI. 13. and XII. 5. Appian. IV. 2.) As it had suffered considerably during this period, it was restored and aggrandized by Augustus after the battle of Actium; (Dio Cass. L.) and continued to rank high among the great cities of Italy. (Tacit. Hist. II. 53. Strab. V. 216. Pomp. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 64. Fest. v. Municip.)

About nine miles beyond Bononia was Claterna, Claterna. some vestiges of which are still apparent at an obscure place named *Quaderna*. (Cic. Phil. VIII. 2. ad Fam. XII. 5. Strab. V. 216. Plin. III. 15. Ptol. p. 64.) It was situated between the two little rivers Idex, *l'Idice*, and Silarus, *Silaro*, noticed in the Idex fl. Table. Silarus fl.

Forum Cornelii follows next, said to have been Forum Cornelii. founded by Sylla. (Prudent. Hymn. 12.) This place is mentioned by Strabo, (V. 216. Cic. Ep. ad Fam. XII. 5.) and Martial:

Romam vade, liber. Si, veneris unde, requiret:
Æmiliæ dices de regione viæ.

Si, quibus in terris, qua sinus in urbe, rogabit:

Cornelî referas me, licet, esse foro. III. EP. 3.

(Plin. III. 15. Ptol. p. 64. Procop. Got. Rer. II.)

After the decline of the Roman empire it changed its name to that of *Imola*, which it has ever since retained. (Paul. Diacon. III. 18.)

Faventia. Ten miles further was Faventia, now *Faenza*, noted in the history of the civil wars of Rome for the defeat of Carbo's party by that of Sylla. (Liv. Epit. LXXXVIII. Vell. Pater. II. 28. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 91.) Silius Italicus describes it as,

..... undique solers
Arva coronantem nutrire Faventia pinum.

VIII. 596.

This city is further recorded by Strabo. (V. 216. Plin. III. 15. Varr. Rer. Rust. I. 2. Ptol. p. 64.) It was situated between the rivers Sinnus and Anemo, the *Senno* and *Amone*: the former is laid down in the Table, the other is noticed by Pliny. (III. 15.) Beyond we find Forum Livii, now *Forli*, (Plin. III. 15.) between the Utis or Utens, now *Montone*, and the Bedesis, *Ronco*. (Plin. III. 16.)

Sinnus fl.
Anemo fl.

Forum Li-
vii.
Utis fl.

Forum Po-
pili.

Forum Popilii (Plin. III. 15.) is *Forlimpopoli*. There were two other towns of this name, the one in Campania, and the other in Lucania.

Cæsena.

Sapis fl.

Cæsena, the last town of Cisalpine Gaul on the Via Æmilia, retains its ancient name. It is situated close to the river *Savio*, anciently the Sapis. (Strab. V. 216. Cf. Ptol. p. 64. Procop. II.) The Itineraries give it the epithet of Curva, but from what cause is not apparent. Having now concluded the examination of the towns of Gallia Cispadana which were situated on the Via Æmilia, I shall beg leave, before I proceed to the few that remain in this division of the province to be noticed, to quote some remarks which Gibbon makes on the ancient state of the tract of country which we have just traversed. "As

“ the Romans were persuaded,” he says^u, “ that the
“ Gallic nations on their side of the Po could always
“ be formidable neighbours, they compelled the Boii
“ to quit their country. They new-modelled in fine
“ the whole province, which they filled with Roman
“ fortresses ; a necessary but ruinous policy, which
“ in order to preserve the dominion of countries rendered them desolate : for, a few cities built and
“ peopled by the conquerors ill compensated for
“ the loss of the numerous tribes of barbarians formerly inhabiting the plains, forests, and mountains.
“ This province was crossed by the Æmilian road
“ from Pollentia^x to Ariminum, which on both
“ sides shewed many flourishing towns. But at a
“ little distance from the road nothing was to be
“ seen but deserts : the rest was the work of ostentation and artifice.”

I must here observe, that this statement of Gibbon, and the invectives which he indulges in against the Roman policy, appear to be founded on an assumption, that the country right and left of the Æmilian way was entirely unpeopled and desolate. Now I believe the nature of things requires, that where there are numerous and populous towns, there should also be a rich and well cultivated country to support them ; and though history has made us acquainted with only a few of the smaller towns and villages which lay in this neighbourhood, we are no more authorized to conclude that others did not exist at that time, than we should at present, if we were merely to notice the large towns which lie on the

^u Miscellaneous Works, vol. ii. p. 178.

^x This is probably a mistake for Placentia.

road between *Piacenza* and *Rimini*. No people knew better than the Romans how to draw forth the resources of a country, or were better skilled in the management of them: we are not therefore to suppose lightly, that they would adopt a policy so contrary to their interest, as that which Gibbon imagines they pursued. The fact is, that this part of Italy was materially improved by becoming a Roman province, and being cleared of its barbarian inhabitants. Large tracts of country, which, from being swampy or covered with forests, were uninhabited and unfit for cultivation, were now drained and levelled, and the whole assumed an appearance of prosperity and opulence, which was not surpassed, if equalled, by any part of the empire. (Strab. V. 217. et seq.)

I have said that there are only a few places noticed by the writers of antiquity to the right or left of the Via Æmilia. Among the latter we may point

Forum No-
vum.

out Forum Novum, about ten miles from Parma, and near the source of the *Taro*, now *Fornovo*. An old inscription gives it the title of municipium ^v.

Litana sil-
va.

The vast forest called Litana by Livy, (XXIII. 24.) in which a Roman army was destroyed by the Gauls, may be supposed to have extended along the base of the Apennines, from the source of the *Parana* to that of the *Secchia*. South of *Modena*,

Aquinum.

Aquinum (Plin. III. 15.) is placed by Cluverius at

Saltus
Gallianus.

Acquario, and Saltus Gallianus, noticed by the same author, at *Saltino*. Umbranum is perhaps *Marano*.

Umbr-
num.

Mutilum, a fortress mentioned by Livy, (XXXI. 2.)

Mutilum.

is *Medolo*, about twelve miles south of *Faenza*.

Solona, recorded by Pliny, (III. 15.) and an ancient inscription^z, is *Città del Sole*, a small town near *Forlì*. Forum Truentinorum, (Plin. III. 15.)^{Forum Druentino-} or Druentinarum, according to an inscription^a which^{rum.} gives it the title of municipium, is *Bertinoro* near *Forlimpopoli*.

To the right of the Æmilian way we find Brixel-Brixellum. Brixellum, a Roman colony according to Pliny, (III. 15. Ptol. p. 64.) and rendered remarkable by the death of Otho, after his defeat at Bedriacum. (Plut. in Oth. Suet. Oth. 9. Tacit. Hist. II. c. 39. and 51.) It is now *Bresello*, a small town on the right bank of the *Po*, and about five miles west of *Guastalla*. The Nuceria of Ptolemy (p. 64.) is *Luzzara*, ten^{Nuceria.} miles north of the same place. Cluverius is inclined to place Otesia, a municipium of some note accord-^{Otesia.} ing to an inscription, and mentioned by Pliny, (III. 15.) at *Mirandola*, but this is a mere surmise on his part. His conjecture that *Bondeno*, an obscure place near the junction of the Panaro and *Po*, answers to the Padinum of Pliny, (III. 15.) seems^{Padinum.} better grounded.

The Lingones have been already mentioned as^{Lingones.} occupying the extreme eastern portion of Gallia Cispadana. Polybius is the only author who has pointed out the district occupied by this people in Italy, (II. 17.) whom Appian characterizes as the fiercest and wildest of the Gauls. (Bell. Gall. Fragm.)

They are noticed in Cæsar's Commentaries; (Bell. Gall. I. 26.) and D'Anville places their Transalpine and original abode in the district of *Langres*^b. The

^z Gruter. Thes. p. 1095. N^o.

2.

^a Id. p. 492. N^o. 5.

^b Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Lingones.

territory which they seized upon in Italy had formerly been occupied by the Umbri; but on the Gallic invasion this nation retired, as will be seen hereafter, to the south of the Apennines, retaining only a few settlements to the north of that chain.

Ravenna.

The most considerable and important place in this part of Gallia Cispadana was Ravenna; a city which laid claim to an origin of remote antiquity; for Strabo reports it to have been founded by some Thessalians^c; but they subsequently abandoned it to the Umbri, being unable to resist the aggressions of the Tyrrheni, or Tuscans. (V. 214. and 217.) When Pliny says it was a colony of the Sabines, he perhaps alluded to an old tradition which considered that people as descended from the Umbri. (III. 15.) Strabo informs us, that Ravenna was situated in the midst of marshes, and built entirely on wooden piles. A communication was established between the different parts of the town by means of bridges and boats. This account is confirmed by numerous passages of the poets.

Quique gravi remo limosis segniter undis
Lenta paludosæ proscindunt stagna Ravennæ.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 602.

Mollis in æquorea quæ crevit spina Ravenna,
Non erit incultis gratior asparagis.

MART. XIII. EP. 18.

Sit cisterna mihi, quam vinea, malo Ravennæ;
Quum possim multo vendere pluris aquam.

ID. III. 56.

^c Cluverius conceives, and I think with great probability, that these Thessalians were the same people, who, according

to Dionysius Hal. founded the city of Spina near one of the mouths of the Po. Ant. Rom. I. 18.

Bætin qui patrium solum relinquens,
Undosæ petiit sitim Ravennæ.

SID. APOL. C. IX.

But, as Strabo observes, the noxious air arising from the stagnant waters was so purified by the tide, that Ravenna was considered by the Romans as a very healthy place, in proof of which they sent gladiators there to be trained and exercised. The vine grew in the marshes with the greatest luxuriance, but perished in the course of four or five years. (V. 213. and 214. Plin. XIV. 2.) Claudian notices the regularity of the tide on this part of the coast.

Dixit, et antiquæ muros egressa Ravennæ
Signa movet; jamque ora Padi, portusque reliquit
Flumineos, certis ubi legibus advena Nereus
Æstuat, et pronas puppes nunc amne secundo,
Nunc redeunte vehit; nudataque litora fluctu
Deserit, Oceani lunaribus æmula damnis.

VI. CONS. HON. 494.

We are not informed at what period Ravenna received a Roman colony, (Strab. V. 217.) but it is not improbable, from a passage in Cicero, (Orat. pro Corn. Balb. 22.) that this event took place under the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Strabo. Ravenna became the great naval station of the Romans on the Adriatic in the latter times of the republic, (Veget. V. 1.) a measure which seems to have originated with Pompey the Great. (Cic. Orat. pro Leg. Man.)

It was from Ravenna that Cæsar held a parley with the senate, when on the point of invading Italy. (Bell. Civ. I. 5.) It was from thence also that he set forward on that march which brought

him to the Rubicon, and involved his country and the world in civil war. (App. Bell. Civ. II. 11.)

It is well observed by Gibbon ^d, “that Cæsar had, “for good reasons, fixed his quarters at Ravenna. “He wished to obtain possession of Picenum, a rich “and populous country, and thus deprive Pompey “of the resources he might have found in a province “extremely devoted to his family, and from which “that general might have made legions spring up “by merely striking the ground with his foot. He “wished to turn the capital with his army. Had “he attempted to march straight to Rome, Pompey “would have made himself master of the difficult “passes, and stopped his progress, and Italy would “have become the theatre of war. But by march- “ing towards Ariminum, Ancona, and Corfinium, “he made it seem to be his design to cut off the re- “treat of his enemies, and his boldness threw them “into such consternation, that they hastened to em- “bark at Brundisium. Lastly, he wished to make “sure of Ariminum. This important place was distant “from the Rubicon eighteen miles by the Æmilian “road, and only eleven by that of Ravenna. Cæsar “could send forward bodies of troops under twenty “different pretences; but the moment he passed it, “his designs were unmasked. Ariminum was there- “fore to be surprised by a forced march.”

The old port of Ravenna was situated at the mouth of the river Bedesis, *il Ronco*. But Augustus caused a new one to be constructed at the entrance of the little river Candianus into the sea, and about three miles from Ravenna. He established a

^d Misc. Works, vol. ii. p. 179.

communication between this harbour and a branch of the *Po*, by means of a canal which was called Fossa Augusti; and he also made a causeway to connect the port and city, which obtained the name of Via Cæsaris. As the new harbour from thenceforth became the usual station for the fleet, it received the distinguishing appellation of Portus Classis, a name which still subsists in that of a well known monastery near the modern town of Ravenna. (Cf. Jorn. de Reb. Got. Sid. Apoll. I. Ep. 8. Procop. Rer. Got. I. and III.) Ravenna continued to flourish as a naval station long after the reign of Augustus; (Suet. Aug. 49. Dio Cass. 63. Tacit. Ann. IV. 5. Hist. II. 100. Plin. XXXVI. 12. Ptol. p. 63. Zosim. V. 25.) and after the fall of the western empire, it became the seat of a separate government, known by the name of the exarchate of Ravenna.

No vestiges whatever remain of Butrium, mentioned by Strabo as a colony of Ravenna. (V. 214.) Pliny assigns it to the Umbri, and places it near the sea. The table seems to fix its position six miles north of Ravenna.

The little town of *Cervia*, about fifteen miles south of the same city, appears from old ecclesiastical writings to have been anciently called Ficoclæ, perhaps it was a Greek settlement, but of no note, since it is not recorded by any classical author, nor by the Itineraries.

A little beyond Butrium, to the north, we come to the most southern branch of the *Po*, formerly known as the Spineticum Ostium, a name which it derived from Spina, an ancient city of Greek origin, situated near its entrance into the Adriatic. If we are to believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who

derives his information apparently from Hellanicus of Lesbos, (Ant. Rom. I. 18.) Spina was founded by a numerous band of Pelasgi, who arrived on this coast from Epirus long before the Trojan war. The same writer goes on to state, that in process of time this colony became very flourishing, and held for many years the dominion of the sea, from the fruits of which it was enabled to present to the temple of Delphi tithe-offerings more costly than those of any other city. Afterwards, however, being attacked by an overwhelming force of the surrounding barbarians, the Pelasgi were forced to quit their settlement, and finally to abandon Italy.

It appears that no doubt can be entertained of the existence of a Greek city of this name, near one of the mouths of the Po, since it is noticed in the Periplus of Scylax, (p. 13.) and by the geographers Eudoxus and Artemidorus, as cited by Steph. Byz. (v. Σπίνα.) Strabo also speaks of it as having once been a celebrated city, and possessed of a treasury at Delphi; the inscription recording that fact being still extant in his time. The same geographer adds besides, that Spina was yet in existence when he wrote, though reduced to the condition of a mere village. (Strab. V. 214. XIII. 421. Plin. III. 16.)

But the extreme antiquity which is assigned to the foundation of this city by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, has been thought by some able modern critics to be liable to dispute. It has been remarked by Freret^e, that if Spina had been of Pelasgic origin, it would have sent its offerings to the temple of Do-

^e Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xviii. p. 90.

dona, and not to that of Delphi; that the period of its greatest prosperity cannot be anterior to the time of Cræsus, when the second temple was built; that both Scylax and Strabo style it an Hellenic city, consequently that its foundation cannot be attributed to the Pelasgi. These reasons however do not appear to me to invalidate the account furnished by Dionysius. It will be seen that Agylla in Etruria, unquestionably a Pelasgic city, had also a treasury at Delphi; consequently, Spina may have been placed in similar circumstances; and when the Pelasgic name had disappeared from Greece it might easily pass for an Hellenic city, as the well known vanity of the Greeks would lead them to assert their connection with so considerable and opulent a town.

I see nothing therefore which prevents our admitting the early origin of Spina, though the time of its greatest celebrity and intercourse with Greece cannot be supposed to date prior to the reign of Cræsus; for Herodotus informs us, that the Phœceans of Ionia were the first navigators who made the Greeks acquainted with the Adriatic. (I. 163.)

It is not easy to discover when the Pelasgi abandoned Spina, and who were the barbarians that forced them to quit the shores of the Adriatic. By the latter, I apprehend we must understand the Tuscans; but as this is a question which belongs rather to the history of this celebrated people, I shall defer it till the proper opportunity occurs. The Tuscans themselves were in their turn dispossessed by the Gauls; and if the correction of Cluverius^e in the text

^f The passage is, “ Interiere
“ et Caturiges, Insubrum ex-
“ sules; et Spina, supra dicta;

“ item Melpum, opulentia præ-
“ cipuum, quod ab Insubribus et
“ Boiis et Senonibus deletum

of Pliny (III. 17.) be admitted, it appears from that author, that Spina was taken and destroyed by the latter people the same year that Camillus took Veii, that is, 393 years B. C. : but to this it is objected, that Scylax, who is supposed to have written in the time of Philip^g, mentions Spina as then existing, which would be about thirty or forty years later than the date above mentioned. No trace now remains of this once flourishing city, by which its ancient site may be identified. Scylax says, it stood about twenty stadia, or between three and four miles from the sea. But Strabo reports, that in his time the small place which preserved the name of Spina was situated upwards of eleven miles inland. We must therefore conclude, that a considerable deposit of alluvial soil must have been made by the *Po* during the time which intervened between these two periods, or that the former site of the city had been removed to a greater distance from the sea. The first supposition is however the most probable, nor is it unlikely that the whole of the extensive marshes of *Comachio* were once washed by the Adriatic. I am for this reason inclined to adopt the opinion of those topo-

“esse eo die, quo Camillus
 “Veios ceperit, Nepos Corne-
 “lius tradit.” Cluverius would
 read, “et Spina supra dicta,
 “olim oppidum opulentia præ-
 “cipuum quod ab Insubribus,
 “&c.” Ital. Ant. I. p. 135.
 Many writers admit however
 the existence of an ancient city
 named Melpum, at a place
 now called *Melzi*, between *Ber-*
gamo and *Milan*; and it is not
 probable that the Insubres
 would take part in an expedi-

tion against Spina.

^g Hudson Geogr. Min. t. i.
 Whoever compiled the Peri-
 plus which goes by the name of
 Scylax, we are certain that he
 must be posterior to the time
 of Cimon and Themistocles,
 since he mentions the long walls
 of Athens; but his materials
 may have been derived from
 authorities of an earlier date.
 Mannert Geogr. der Griechen
 und Roemer, t. i. p. 67.

graphers who seek for the spot on which Spina stood, on the left bank of the *Po di Primaro*, the ancient Spineticum Ostium, and not far from the village of Argenta^h. If the emendation of Cluverius in the text of Jul. Obsequensⁱ is received, Argenta itself was an ancient town, and formerly gave its name to the marshes just mentioned. According to Pliny, the Spineticum Ostium was also called Eridanum, and its haven took the name of Portus Vatreni, from the circumstance of the *Po* receiving a little above it the waters of the Vatrenus, now *Santerno*. Argenta.
Spineticum Ostium, vel Eridanum.
Portus Vatreni.

This river is noticed in a pretty epigram of Martial. Vatrenus fl.

Cessatis, pueri, nihilque môstis,
 Vatreno Retenoque pigriores;
 Quorum per vada tarda navigantes,
 Lentos figitis ad celeusma remos.
 Jam prono Phaethonte sudat Æthon,
 Exarsitque dies, et hora lassos
 Interjungit equos meridiana.
 At vos tam placidas vagi per undas
 Tutæ luditis otium carinæ.
 Non nautas puto vos, sed Argonautas.

III. Ep. 67.

It was from the abovementioned harbour that the emperor Claudian, on returning from his mock expedition into Britain, sailed in triumph down the Adriatic, in a vessel more resembling a vast edifice, as Pliny says, than a ship. (III. 16.)

The last place which remains to be pointed out is Forum Al-
lieni.

^h Filiasi Corogr. dell Ant. Venet. Marit. t. iii. p. 44. and 82.

ⁱ Ital. Ant. I. p. 156.

Forum Allieni, mentioned by Tacitus. (Hist. III. 6.) Cluverius conceives with considerable probability, that this ancient town occupied the present site of *Ferrara*, that modern name being evidently a corruption of Forum Allieni, contracted to Forum Arrii.

What remains to be said on the several branches and mouths of the *Po* will be introduced in the next section, for the purpose of bringing that subject under one comprehensive view.

Rubico fl.

It has been already stated that the Rubicon, till the reign of Augustus, formed the boundary of Cisalpine Gaul towards the south-east. To identify this celebrated stream is a question which has long puzzled writers on comparative geography, and does not even now seem perfectly settled^k. Without entering into the details of this inquiry we may safely say, that the Rubicon is formed from several small streams, which unite about a mile from the sea, and then assume the name of *Fiumicino*.

Cæsar coming from Ravenna along the coast would cross the Rubicon near its mouth, where it is one stream: had he proceeded by the Via Æmilia, he would have had to cross the three rivulets, called

^k The editor of the French Strabo seems inclined in this question to adopt the opinion of Mr. Guastazzi, who has written a dissertation on the subject. That writer wishes to prove, that the *Urgone*, or *Rigone*, is the real Rubicon. This little stream takes its source above the *Villa di Monte Campo*, and after passing by *Monti-*

gliano, formerly joined the *Fiumicino* a little below the bridge of *Savignano*; but at present it turns off before it reaches *Montigliano*, and assuming the name of *Pisciatello*, receives the waters of the *Rigosta*, and soon after joins the *Fiumicino* near the bridge *delle due Rocche*. Geogr. de Strab. Paris. 1809. 4to. t. ii. Eclairciss. N^o. 19.

Rugone, *Pisatello*, and *Savignano*, which by their junction constitute the *Fiumicino*. It is to Lucan that we are indebted for the most interesting description of this famous event.

Jam gelidas Cæsar cursu superaverat Alpes ;
 Ingentesque animo motus, bellumque futurum
 Ceperat. Ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas,
 Ingens visa duci patriæ trepidantis imago,
 Clara per obscuram vultu mœstissima noctem,
 Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines,
 Cæsarie lacera, nudisque adstare lacertis,
 Et gemitu permixta loqui.

I. 183.

And a few lines below.

Fonte cadit modico, parvisque impellitur undis
 Puniceus Rubicon, cum fervida canduit æstas :
 Perque imas serpit valles, et Gallica certus
 Limes ab Ausoniis disternat arva colonis.
 Tunc vires præbebat hiems, atque auxerat undas
 Tertia jam gravido pluvialis Cynthia cornu,
 Et madidis Euri resolutæ flatibus Alpes.
 Primus in obliquum sonipes opponitur amnem
 Excepturus aquas ; molli tum cetera rumpit
 Turba vado faciles fracti jam fluminis undas.
 Cæsar ut adversam superato gurgite ripam
 Attigit, Hesperiaë vetitis et constitit arvis,
 Hic, ait, hic, pacem, temerataque jura relinquo ;
 Te, Fortuna, sequor.

(Cf. Appian. Civ. Bell. II. 135. Suet. Cæs. 30. Plut. Cæs. et Pomp.) The Rubicon is besides mentioned as the boundary of Cisalpine Gaul by Cic. Phil. VI. 3. Strab. V. 227. Plin. III. 15. Ptol. p. 62.

ROMAN ROADS.

In examining the different roads which intersected the province just described, I shall commence with those which crossed the Alps, and terminated at Milan. Of these I have already alluded to the two which led over the Graian and Pennine Alps, and met at Augusta Prætoriam, *Aoste*, when speaking of the Salassi. They were constructed, as Strabo informs us, (IV. 205.) by order of Augustus; though we are not to understand the geographer as stating, that these mountain-passes were opened for the first time during the reign of that emperor¹, but that they were rendered more easy of access by the works which he caused to be undertaken there. That which traversed the Graian Alp, or the *Little St. Bernard*, led from *Milan* to *Vienne*, formerly the capital of the Allobroges, through the country of the Centrones, now the *Tarentaise*; the other which crossed the Pennine Alp, or *Great St. Bernard*, established a communication between the former city and *Lyons*.

The following stations and distances on these two roads are furnished by the Table and Itinerary of Antoninus.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Alpe Graia	<i>Little St. Bernard</i>	
Artolicam	<i>la Tuile</i> - -	VI.
Arebrigium	<i>Pre St. Didier</i> -	XVI. ^m
Augustam Prætoriam	<i>Aoste</i> - -	XXV.
Summo Pennino	<i>Great St. Bernard</i>	
Eudracinum	<i>Etrouble</i> - -	XIII. ⁿ

¹ See a Dissert. on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps, Introd. p. 38. and note, p. 20.

^m This should be VI.

ⁿ As the Itinerary of Antoninus gives only XXV between

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.	
Augustam Prætoriam	<i>Aoste</i>	-	- XXV.
Augusta Prætoria	<i>Aoste</i>		
Vitricium	<i>Verrez</i>	-	- XXV.
Eporediam	<i>Ivrea</i>	-	- XXI.
Vercellas *	<i>Vercelli</i>	-	- XXXIII.
Novariam	<i>Novara</i>	-	- XVI.
Mediolanum	<i>Milan</i>	-	- XXXIII.

*Or by another route,

Vercellas	<i>Vercelli</i>		
Cottias °	<i>Cozzo</i>	-	- XIII.
Laumellum	<i>Lomello</i>	-	- XII.
Ticinum	<i>Pavia</i>	-	- XXII.
Mediolanum	<i>Milan</i>	-	- XXII.

There were also two passes over the Rhaetian Alps, which afforded a communication between *Curia*, *Coire*, and *Milan*; the one traversing the *Splugen*, the other *Mont Septimer*, and both meeting at *Clavenna*, *Chiavenna*. These roads also were probably made by Augustus, but the passes had been frequented long before, as Strabo reports on the authority of Polybius. (IV. 209.)

The first is described in the Table, and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, p. 278. as follows :

<i>Curia</i>	<i>Coire</i>		
Lapidarium	-	-	- XXXII.
Cuneum Aureum	<i>Splugen</i>	-	- XVII.
Tarvessedum	<i>Madese</i>	-	- X.
Clavennam	<i>Chiavenna</i>	-	- XV.

the Summus Penninus and Augusta Prætoria, this number ought to be altered to X. and the next to XV.

° Here it met the road which led from Augusta Taurinorum, *Turin*, to Mediolanum. See p. 39.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
ad lacum Comacenum	- -	X.
per lacum Comum	<i>Como</i> -	LX.

The latter by the Itin. Anton. alone, p. 277.

Curia	<i>Coire</i>	
Tinnetionem	<i>Tintzen</i> -	XX.
Murum	<i>la Porta</i> -	XV.
Summum Lacum	<i>Samolico</i> -	XX.
Comum	<i>Como</i> -	XV. ^P
Mediolanum	<i>Milan</i> -	XVIII.

From Milan two great roads branched off to the eastern and southern extremities of the province; the one leading to Verona and Aquileia, the latter to Placentia and Ariminum: the same name of Via Æmilia was however applied to both. Concerning this celebrated way, we learn that it was made by M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was consul A. U. C. 567. in continuation of the Via Flaminia, which had been carried from Rome to Ariminum. The Via Æmilia was laid down in the first instance as far as *Bologna*, but subsequently it was continued to Placentia and *Milan*, and finally to Verona and Aquileia. There was another branch of it however which led from *Bologna* to this last city by a shorter cut, though still avoiding the marshes of the *Po*, and re-joining the main road at *Padua*. (Strab. V. 217. ^q)

^P This number, according to the former statement of the distance from the head of the lake to *Como*, should be LX; unless it be thought that the road followed the shore of the lake; but even in that case the dis-

tance would much exceed XV.

^q See Animadv. crit. ad excerpt. ex Mus. Veron. Append. N^o. 78.; in the Mem. Storiche, p. 165. and Append. p. 254. Also Filiati Mem. Stor. dei Veneti. t. ii. p. 35.

The stations on this road between *Milan* and *Verona* appear in the *Itin. Hierosol.* as follows :

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Mediolanum	<i>Milan</i>	
Fluvium Frigidum	<i>Lambro</i> - -	XII.
Argentiam	<i>Gorgonzuola</i> - -	X.
Pontem Aureoli	<i>Pontiruolo</i> - -	X.
Bergamum *	<i>Bergamo</i> - -	XIII.
Tollegata	<i>Talgato</i> - -	XII.
Tetellum	<i>Baitella</i> - -	X.
Brixiam	<i>Brescia</i> - -	X.
ad Flexum	- - - -	XI.
Beneventum	- - - -	X.
Verona	<i>Verona</i> - -	X. ^r

* A road is marked in the Table as branching off from *Bergamum* to *Leuceris*, *Lovere*, and round the *Lago d'Iseo* to *Brixia*.

Bergamum	<i>Bergamo</i>	
Leucirim	<i>Lovere</i> - -	XX.
Brixiam	<i>Brescia</i> - -	XXXV.
Ardelicam	<i>Peschiera</i> - -	XXXII.
Veronam	<i>Verona</i> - -	XIII.

The *Itin. Anton.* gives only four stages between *Milan* and *Verona*, p. 127.

Mediolanum	<i>Milan</i>	
Bergamum	<i>Bergamo</i> - -	XXXIII.
Brixiam	<i>Brescia</i> - -	XVIII.
Sirmionem	<i>Sirmione</i> - -	XXII.
Veronam	<i>Verona</i> - -	XXXIII. ^s

^r The sum of these distances between *Brescia* and *Verona* is but thirty-one miles, which fall short of the real number by at least twelve; so that it is pro-

bable a station is wanting. D'Anville, *Anal. Geog. de l'Italie*, p. 74.

^s This should be XXXIII.

From Milan to *Rimini* the stations and distances are given in the greatest detail in the Jerusalem Itinerary.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Mediolanum	<i>Milan</i>	
ad Nonum	<i>Marignano</i>	- VIII.
Laudem ^t	<i>Lodi vecchio</i>	- VII.
Tres Tabernas	- - -	- VIII.
ad Rotas	- - -	- V.
Placentiam	<i>Piacenza</i>	- XI.
ad Fonticulos	<i>la Fontana</i>	- XIII.
Fidentiam ^u	<i>Borgo San Donnino</i>	VIII.
ad Tarum	<i>Taro</i>	- VIII.
Parmam	<i>Parma</i>	- VII.
Tannetum	<i>Taneto</i>	- VIII.
Regium	<i>Reggio</i>	- X.
Pontem Secies	<i>la Secchia</i>	- XIII.
Mutinam	<i>Modena</i>	- V.
Victuriolas ^w	- - -	- III.
ad Medias	<i>Samoggia</i>	- X.
Bononiam	<i>Bologna</i>	- XV.
Claternam	<i>Quaderna</i>	- X.
Forum Cornelii	<i>Imola</i>	- XIII.
Faventiam	<i>Faenza</i>	- X.
Forum Livii	<i>Forlì</i>	- V.
Forum Popilii	<i>Forlìmpopoli</i>	- VI.
Cæsenam	<i>Cesena</i>	- VI.

^t There is a cross-road in the Itin. Anton. from Laus, or *Lodi vecchio*, to Ticinum Pavia, XIII. M. P.

^u The Table and Itin. Anton. supply another stage between this place and Placentia; Florentia, *Fiorenzuola*, XV. M. P. from Placentia, and X. from Fidentia; from which it would ap-

pear, that there is a deficiency in the Itin. Hierosol. of IV. miles.

^w The table furnishes an intermediate station between this place and the next of ad Medias, named Forum Gallorum, *Castel Franco*, (see p. 87.) VIII. M. P. from Mutina, consequently V. beyond Victuriolæ.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Compitum *	- - -	- VI.
Ariminum	<i>Rimini</i> -	- XII.

At Placentia, the Via Æmilia was crossed by the Via Posthumia, of which we have already spoken in treating of the roads of Liguria. How this way was continued beyond Placentia does not appear very clearly; but as there is no indication in any of the Itineraries of a direct communication between Placentia and Cremona, through which city we know that the Via Posthumia was carried, I am inclined to think that it crossed the *Po* at Placentia, and reached Cremona by Laus Pompeia and Acerræ, *Ghera*. In this case the stations will be nearly as follows:

Placentia	<i>Piacenza</i>	
Laudem	<i>Lodi vecchio</i>	- XXIII.
Acerras	<i>Ghera</i> -	- XXII.
Cremonam *	<i>Cremona</i> -	- XIII.
Bedriacum	<i>Cividale</i> -	- XXII.
Mantuum	<i>Mantova</i>	
Veronam	<i>Verona</i>	

* There was a cross-road from Cremona to Regium on the Via Æmilia, according to the Itin. Anton. p. 283.

* At Compitum, as the name implies, the Via Æmilia was met by another road, which I conceive to have been that branch of the Via Flaminia which led from Arretium in Etruria to Bononia, and was constructed by C. Flaminius Nepos, A. U. C. 567. (Liv. XXXIX. 2.)

Strabo is thought to confound this road with the Via Flaminia, which was laid down from Rome to Ariminum by C. Flaminius, who was censor A. U. C. 537, and three years after was killed in the battle of the lake Trasymene. Strab. V. 217.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Cremona	<i>Cremona</i>	
Brixellum	<i>Bresello</i> - -	XXX.
Regium	<i>Reggio</i> - -	XL. ^y
Mutinam	<i>Modena</i> - -	XXVII. ^z
Bononiam	<i>Bologna</i>	

The same Itinerary supplies another cross-road between Bononia and Verona. (p. 282.)

Verona	<i>Verona</i>	
Hostilium	<i>Ostiglia</i> - -	XXX.
Colicarium	- - - -	XXV.
Mutinam	<i>Modena</i> - -	XXV.
Bononiam ^a	<i>Bologna</i> - -	XXV.

Lastly, we may notice a road which seems to have led from Parma through Liguria into Etruria. No mention is made of it in the Itineraries, but there is good historical evidence of the existence of such a route^b: (Liv. XLI. 18.) and I conceive that it was by this road that the Roman armies usually penetrated from Etruria into Cisalpine Gaul, before the Flaminian and Æmilian ways had been laid down. The general direction of this route, which is now much frequented, seems to have been from Pisa to Luca, *Sarzana*, *Pontremoli*, *Fornovo*, and Parma.

^y Read XX.

^z This number should be XVII.

^a For the road between Bo-

nonia and Aquileia, see the next section.

^b See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. p.

75.

SECTION IV.

VENETIA AND HISTRIA.

Origin and history of the Veneti—Description of the coast—
Mouths of the Po—Interior of the country—Euganei, Tridentini, Carni, and other Alpine nations—Sources of the Timavus—The Histri—Description of Histria.

WE are now arrived at the north-east angle of Italy, formed by the Alps and the head of the Adriatic gulf; to which the name of Venetia was assigned, from the Heneti, or Veneti, an ancient people respecting whose origin considerable uncertainty seems to have existed even among the best informed writers of antiquity. The poetical as well as popular opinion identified them with the Heneto-Paphlagones, enumerated by Homer in the catalogue of the allies of Priam. (B. 852.) It was affirmed, that this people, having lost their leader during the Trojan war, had crossed over into Europe under the command of Antenor, and in the course of their subsequent wanderings had arrived at the head of the Adriatic, where they finally settled, after having expelled the Euganei, the original inhabitants of the country. (Liv. I. c. 1. Cato. ap. Plin. III. 19. Corn. Nep. ap. Plin. VI. 2. Justin. XX. 1. Scymn. Ch. Perieg. 388. Soph. Ἰλίου ἄλωσις ap. Strab. XIII. 608. Mæandr. ap. eund. XII. 552. Virg. Æn. I. 242. Ovid. Fast. IV. 78. Sil. Ital. VIII. 604.) Strabo, who mentions more than once this tradition, was himself inclined to believe the Veneti

to be Gauls, (V. 212.) as there was a tribe of the same name in that country ^a. (Cæs. Bell. Gall. III. 9.) But Strabo is singular in this opinion, which we ought to be the less inclined to receive as it is at variance with the testimony of Polybius. (II. 17.) This historian assures us, that the Veneti differed in language ^b from the Gauls, though in manners and customs they bore a great resemblance to that nation. Herodotus, who was well acquainted with the Veneti, designates them by the generic appellation of Illyrians. (I. 196. and V. 10.) And we ought perhaps to content ourselves with this indication of their origin, without attempting to trace it to a remoter source. I would leave it to more able and inquisitive antiquaries, to speculate on the probability of the Asiatic origin of the Veneti ^c. But if the fact of their having crossed the Bosphorus be admitted, we might easily conceive their subsequent progress across the plains of Thrace, and along the banks of the *Danube* and the *Save* into *Croatia*, and finally their arrival on the north-western shore of the Adriatic. One thing at least, with regard to the Venetian migration, may be safely asserted; that they were the last people who penetrated into Italy by that frontier. This fact is sufficiently evident from the extreme position which they took up, and from

^a They occupied the district of *Vannes* in *Brittany*. D'Anville, Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Veneti.

^b Some peculiarities of their language are mentioned by Pliny. (XXVI. 7.) Modern researches seem to establish that this language was different from the Etruscan, having a still greater affinity to archaic Greek,

than that dialect, both in the form of the letters and the character of the idiom. Orsato. Monum. Patav. Maffei Osserv. Letter. t. v. Lanzi. Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, P. iii. p. 649. et seq.

^c Filiassi Saggio dei Veneti primi, P. ii. p. 11. Id. Mem. Stor. dei Veneti primi, t. ii. c. 31.

their having retained possession of it undisturbed, as far as history informs us, till they became subject to the Roman power.

The history of the Veneti contains little that is worthy of notice, if we except the remarkable feature of their being the sole people of Italy, who not only offered no resistance to the ambitious projects of Rome, but even at a very early period rendered that power an essential service; if it be true, as Polybius reports, that the Gauls who had taken Rome were suddenly called away from that city by an irruption of the Veneti into their territory. (II. 18.) The same author elsewhere expressly states, that an alliance was afterwards formed between the Romans and Veneti, (II. 23.) a fact which is confirmed by Strabo. (V. 216.)

This state of security and peace would seem to have been very favourable to the prosperity of the Venetian nation. According to an old geographer, they counted within their territory fifty cities, and a population of a million and half. The soil and climate were excellent, and their cattle were reported to breed twice in the year. (Scymn. Ch. Perieg.) Their horses were especially noted for their fleetness, and are known to have often gained prizes in the games of Greece. (Eur. Hipp. v. 231. ubi vid. Schol. Hesych. voc. 'Ενετίδες.) And Strabo affirms, that Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, kept a stud of race-horses in their country. (V. 212.) The same writer affirms, that even in his day there was an annual sacrifice of a white horse to Diomed^d.

^d A modern writer is of opinion, that this Diomed was the Thracian king whose horses

were celebrated in fable. Filiassi Mem. Saggio. dei Ven. pr. p. 2.

When the Gauls had been subjugated, and their country had been reduced to a state of dependence, the Veneti do not appear to have manifested any unwillingness to constitute part of the new province, an event which we may suppose to have happened not long after the second Punic war^e. Their territory from that time was included under the general denomination of Cisalpine Gaul, and they were admitted to all the privileges which that province successively obtained^f.

In the reign of Augustus, Venetia was considered as a separate district, constituting the tenth region in the division made by that emperor. (Plin. III. 18.)

Its boundaries, if for the sake of simplification we include within them the Tridentini, Meduaci, Carni, and other smaller nations, may be considered to be the Athesis, and a line drawn from that river to the *Po*, to the west: the Alps to the north: the Adriatic, as far as the river Formio, *Risano*, to the east: and the main branch of the *Po* to the south.

Padusa fl.

The Spinetic branch of this river, which has been already mentioned, is more commonly known among Latin writers by the name of Padusa.

Haud secus, atque alto in luco quum forte catervæ
Consedere avium, piscosove amne Padusæ
Dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cyceni.

ÆN. XI. 456.

Eridani ripas, et raucæ stagna Padusæ
Diffugiens nudavit olor.

CLAUD. EPITH. PAL. ET CEL.

^e Carli Antich. Ital. II. 5. minio dei Romani, vol. iv. p.

^f Micali l'Italia avanti il do- 319.

Et placidam fossæ qua jungunt ora Padusam,
 Navigat Alpini flumina magna Padi.

VALG. ELEG. AP. SERV. AD ÆN. XI. 456.

The canal alluded to in the last passage is that which Augustus cut from the Padusa to Ravenna.

Polybius describes the *Po* as dividing itself into two streams, which he calls Olana and Padoa, at a place named Trigaboli, probably somewhere near *Ferrara*. (II. 16.) The former of these branches is easily recognised in the present *Po di Volano*; the other, which is evidently the same as the Padusa, must therefore answer to the *Po di Primaro*. In addition to the appellations already noticed, it would seem from Pliny, that the latter stream was sometimes known by the name of Messanicus. (III. 16.) The other branches of the *Po* mentioned by this writer are the Caprasia Ostium, now *Bocca di bel occhio*; Sagis, *Fossage*; Carbonaria, *Po d'Ariano*. The Fossa Philistina is the *Po grande*, and the Tartarus, now *Tartaro*, which communicated with it, is probably the Hadria of Steph. Byz. or the Hatrianus of Ptolemy. (p. 63.)

Olana fl.

Trigaboli.

Messanicus fl.

Caprasia Ostium.

Sagis Ostium.

Fossa Philistina.

Hadria, vel Tartarus, fl.

The Fossa Philistina is spoken of as a very considerable canal, having seven arms or cuts, commonly known by the name of Septem Maria, drawn off from it to the sea. These works were undertaken by the Tuscans, for the purpose of draining the marshy lands about Hadria^g.

Septem Maria.

^g The above account of the several branches and canals of the Po is that which Cluverius gives. But it is right to observe, that the passage of Pliny, from which it is derived, is very obscure, if not corrupt: besides,

where the face of a country has probably undergone great change, it is difficult to form an accurate notion of its comparative topography. Silvestri Palude Atriane. Amati del Rubicone Append. 7.

Hatria, vel
Hadria.

This ancient city, which must have been once powerful and great, since it was enabled to transmit its name to the sea on which it stood, is known to have been possessed by the Tuscans at the time of their greatest prosperity, and when their dominion in Italy had been extended from sea to sea. (Liv. V. 33. Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 32. Fest. v. Atrium. Plin. III. 16.) Some obscure traditions, however, represent it as being in its origin a Greek city. (Steph. Byz. v. Ἀτρία. Justin. XX.) These accounts, considered by themselves, would, as far as regards Hadria, be little entitled to attention; but coupled with what we know touching the origin of the neighbouring cities of Spina^h and Ravenna, they acquire a considerable degree of probability; and lead to the conclusion, that these three towns were at a remote period founded by the people who are sometimes called Thessalians, and at other times Pelasgi; but whose real name, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to prove, was that of Tyrrheniansⁱ. When the Tuscan nation had extended its conquests into the north of Italy, it is most probable that Hadria and Spina fell into their hands; Ravenna, as we learn from Strabo, was occupied by the Umbri.

The oldest writer who has recorded Hadria is Hecataeus, quoted by Steph. Byz. (v. Ἀδρία.) According to this ancient historian, it was situated near a river and bay of the same name. The river is the *Tartaro*, but the bay into which it discharged itself has been long since filled up. The once capacious port noticed by Pliny (III. 16.) is perhaps the Ha-

Portus Hadrianus.

^h Hadria, as well as Spina, is said to have been founded by Diomed. Steph. Byz. v. Ἀτρία.

Plin. III. 16.

ⁱ See the following section.

drianum of the Itineraries, situated, as was usual with ancient maritime cities, at some distance from the town of which it was the haven. The prosperity of Hadria does not seem to have survived the decline of the Tuscan power north of the Apennines; and though from its defensible situation it might have been retained by that nation for some time after the loss of their other possessions in Upper Italy, it is probable that they deserted it for their southern settlements on the Adriatic, towards the middle of the fourth century from the foundation of Rome. (Dion. Hal. VII. 3.) Hadria still existed when Strabo wrote, but as an insignificant place. (V. 214. Tacit. Hist. III. 12. Ptol. p. 63.) At present it is but a small town, though an episcopal see, and is distant from the coast upwards of eighteen miles^k.

The whole of the Venetian coast appears to have been anciently as full of creeks and harbours, made by the mouths of rivers and canals, as it is at present. Strabo observes, that from the number of dikes and embankments formed by the inhabitants, this district bore a great resemblance to Lower Egypt: the same writer affirms, that the rise and fall of the tide was perceptible in the canals, or lagoons, which communicated with the sea. (V. 212.)

^k Filiasi Corogr. dell Ant. Venet. Marit. t. iii. p. 109. Silvestri Palude Atriane. Few remains of any moment have hitherto been discovered on the site of Hadria, and of these a very small number can be referred to the Tuscans prior to the Roman dominion. It may be remarked, however, that it is a matter of great dispute among numismatic writers, whether the

coins with the retrograde legend TAH ought to be ascribed to the Venetian Hadria, or to the Hadria in Picenum, supposed to be its colony. From these and other coins it appears that the real name of this city was Hatri, which the Greeks changed to Ἀδρία. Mazocchi in Tab. Heracl. p. 529. Bocchi Dissert. Acad. Cort. t. iii. p. 76. Lanzi, t. iii. p. 643.

Portus
Brundulus.

Athesis fl.

Of the harbours above mentioned, the Portus Brundulus, now *Porto Brondolo*, was formed by the Athesis and Togisonus. (Plin. III. 16.) The first of these rivers has been already spoken of as the *Adige*. It rises in the mountains of the *Tyrol*, and after a course of nearly two hundred miles, discharges its waters into the Adriatic. Next to the *Po*, it must be looked upon as the most considerable stream of Italy. Virgil has introduced the mention of these two great rivers in one of his most beautiful comparisons.

Quales aëriæ liquentia flumina circum,
Sive Padi ripis, Athesim seu propter amœnum,
Consurgunt geminæ quercus, intonsaque cœlo
Attollunt capita, et sublimi vertice nutant.

ÆN. IX. 679.

Togisonus
fl.

Eretenus fl.

Portus
Edro.

The Togisonus, a river noticed only by Pliny, (III. 16.) is thought by Cluverius to be the *Fossa Paltana*, a stream which he says rises below *Monte Selice*, and falls into the sea near *Brondolo*. But D'Anville is perhaps more correct in supposing it to be the same as the *Canal Bianco*¹, which communicates with *l'Agno*, the ancient Eretenus. This small river, which was formerly noted for its eels, (Ælian. XIV. 8.) has been thought by a modern critic^m to be the real Eridanus, which, as Strabo seems to suppose, may have been a different river from the *Po*, though near it. (V. 215.) The Portus Edro, which follows, and according to Pliny was formed by the Fossa Clodia and different branches

¹ See his map of Ancient Italy.

^m Bardetti della lingua dei prim. abit. dell' Ital. c. v. p. 209.

of the Meduacus Major and Minor, the *Brenta*, and *Bachiglione*, is probably *Chiozza*. (III. 16.)

Meduacus
Minor.
Meduacus
Major.
Altinum.

Further north, and close to the sea, was Altinum, the precise site of which, according to Cluverius, seems uncertain; but D'Anvilleⁿ asserts, that its place is yet marked by the name of *Altino*, on the right bank of the river Silis, *Sile*, and near its mouth. (Plin. III. 18.) According to Strabo, the situation of Altinum bore much resemblance to that of Ravenna. (V. 214. Cf. Vitruv. I. 4. Tacit. Hist. III. 6. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 63.) The earliest mention of it is in Vell. Pater. (II. 76.) At a later period of the Roman empire it must have become a place of considerable note, since Martial compares the appearance of its shore, lined with villas, to that of Baia.

Silis fl.

Æmula Baianis Altini littora villis.

IV. EP. 25.

(Cf. Cassiod. XII. Ep. 22.) It was also celebrated for its wool.

Velleribus primis Apulia, Parma secundis

Nobilis; Altinum tertia laudat ovis.

MART. XIV. EP. 153.

L. Antoninus Verus died of apoplexy near Altinum. (Eutrop. VIII. Jul. Capitol. L. Ver.)

Beyond this town we find the river Plavis, *la Piave*, (Paul. Diacon. R. Lang. II. 12.) and farther still, the Liquentia, now *la Livenza*, with a harbour at its mouth. (Plin. III. 18.) Next follows the Romatinus, *Lemene*, and on its right bank, a few miles from the coast, the city of Concordia, which yet re-

Plavis fl.

Liquentia fl.

Romatinus fl.

Concordia.

ⁿ Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 84.

Portus Ro-
matinus.

tains both its position and name. Strabo speaks of this town as an inconsiderable place; (V. 214.) but other writers mention it as a Roman colony, (Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 18. Ptol. p. 63.) and this is confirmed by ancient inscriptions, which give it the title of Julia Concordia. (Cf. Cassiod. XII. 26. Eutrop. VIII. Zosim. V.) The Portus Romatinus of Pliny is now *Porto Lemetino*. (III. 16.)

The next river is the Tilavemptus, now *Tagliamento*, which Cluverius considers as separating the Veneti from the Carni^o. His opinion is founded on a passage in Strabo; (V. 214.) and though the point may be contested, he has been followed, I believe, by the best and latest writers on the ancient topography of this part of Italy^p.

Ateste.

We must now retrace our steps towards the southern border of Venetia, in order to examine the interior and remaining part of that province. North of the *Adige*, and on the Eretenus, was Ateste, a Roman colony of some note. (Plin. III. 18. XVII. 17. Tacit. Hist. III. 6. Ptol. p. 63.)

Perfer Atestinæ, nondum vulgata Sabinæ
Carmina, purpurea sed modo culta toga.

MART. X. EP. 93.

It is now *Este*, a name well known in modern history as the title of one of the most ancient and illustrious families in Europe^q.

Mons Si-
licis.

Somewhat to the east of *Este* is *Monselice*, anciently Mons Silicis. (Paul. Diacon. IV. 26.)

Patavium.

Patavium, in Italian *Padova*, situated between the Meduacus Major and Minor, rivers already no-

^o Ital. Ant. I. p. 177.

Eclairciss. N^o. 12. p. 24.

^p See the French Strabo.

^q Muratori Antichità Estense.

ticed as the *Brenta* and *Bachiglione*, from its celebrity and importance may justly be considered as the capital of ancient Venetia. The story of its foundation by Antenor is one which will scarcely be believed in the present day, though so universally accredited by the writers of antiquity.

Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
 Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
 Regna Liburnorum, et fontes superare Timavi.

* * *

Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, sedesque locavit
 Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit; armaque fixit
 Troia. ÆN. I. 242.

(Cf. Pomp. Mel. II. 4. Solin. VIII. Senec. Consol. ad Helv. 7. Ælian. Hist. Anim. XIV. 8.) It seems as difficult to refute as to prove a fact of so remote an era; but granting the origin of *Padua*, as far as regards the Trojan prince^r, to be an invention of a later period, it does not follow that the tradition should be wholly destitute of foundation: perhaps a similarity of name between the Antenor of Homer and the chief of the Heneti, might not unreasonably be fixed upon as accounting in some measure for this otherwise improbable story. An interesting event in the subsequent history of Patavium is recorded at some length by Livy, who naturally dwells on it as honourable to his native city. (X. 2.) A Spartan fleet under the command of Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes, king of Lacedemon, being driven by contrary winds from the neighbourhood of Tarentum, to the aid of which city he had been summoned

^r In the Iliad, Antenor is represented as of the same age with Priam, (Γ. 148.) a circumstance which renders the account here considered very incredible.

against a threatened attack on the part of the Romans, (Diod. Sicul. XX. 104. Strab. VI. 208.) arrived unexpectedly in the Adriatic, and anchored at the mouth of the Meduacus Major, or *Brenta*, and near the present villages of *Chiozza* and *Fusina*. A party of these adventurers, having advanced up the river in some light vessels, effected a landing, and proceeded to burn and plunder the defenceless villages on its banks. The alarm of this unexpected attack soon reached *Padua*, whose inhabitants were kept continually on the alert and in arms, from fear of the neighbouring Gauls. A force was instantly despatched to repel the invaders, and such was the skill and promptitude with which this service was performed, that the marauders were surprised, and their vessels taken, before the news of this reverse could reach the fleet at the mouth of the river. Attacked at his moorings, it was not without great loss, both in ships and men, that the Spartan commander effected his escape. The shields of the Greeks and the beaks of their galleys were suspended in the temple of Juno, and an annual mock-fight on the river *Brenta* served to perpetuate the memory of so proud a day in the annals of *Padua*. This event is placed by the Roman historian in the 450th year of Rome.

Strabo speaks of Patavium as the greatest and most flourishing city in the north of Italy; and states, that it counted in his time 500 Roman knights among its citizens, and could at one period send 20,000 men into the field^s. Its manufactures of cloth and woollen stuffs were renowned throughout

^s Some MSS. read 120,000; but the lesser number seems the most probable.

Italy, and, together with its traffic in various commodities, sufficiently attested the great wealth and prosperity of its inhabitants. (V. 213.)
(Cf. Mart. XIV. Ep. 141.)

Vellera cum sumant Patavinæ multa trilices,
Et pingues tunicas serra secare potest.

Vessels could come up to Padua from the sea, a distance of two hundred and fifty stadia, by the Meduacus, which river had a capacious harbour of the same name at its mouth ^t. (Strab. V. 213.) Thræsea Pætus, one of the victims of Nero's cruelty, and of whom Tacitus says, that virtue perished along with him, was a native of *Padua*, and is reported by the same historian to have incurred the tyrant's hatred, among other reasons, for his performance in a tragedy at *Padua* during the celebration of certain games, said to have been instituted by Antenor. (Ann. XVI. 21. Dio Cass. LXII.^u) The history of *Padua* may be further illustrated from Cic. Phil. XII. 4. Tacit. Hist. III. 6. Ptol. p. 63. About six miles to the south of this city were the celebrated Patavinæ Aquæ. (Plin. II. 103. and XXXI. 6.) The principal source was distinguished by the name of Aponus Fons, from whence that of *Bagni d' Abano*, by which these waters are at present known, has evidently been formed.

Portus Meduacus.

Patavinæ
Aquæ, vel
Aponus
Fons.

^t It is not clear which harbour the geographer speaks of in this passage; *Malamocco* at the mouth of the *Brenta*, as Cluverius imagined, or that of *Chiozza*, formed by the *Bachig-*

lione. The distance specified might seem to favour the latter supposition.

^u See Orsato Monumenta Patavina, p. 155.

Euganeo, si vera fides memorantibus, augur
Colle sedens, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit.

LUCAN. VII. 193.

Etrusci nisi thermulis lavaris,
Illotus morieris, Oppiane.
Nullæ sic tibi blandientur undæ.
Nec fontes Aponi rudes puellis.

MART. VI. EP. 42.

Huic pater Eridanus, Venetæque ex ordine gentes,
Atque Apono gaudens populus, seu bella cieret,
Seu Musas placidus doctæque silentia vitæ
Mallet, et Aonios plectro mulcere labores,
Non ullum duxere parem. SIL. ITAL. XII. 217.

But Claudian has described it most fully in the
little poem beginning with,

Fons, Antenoreæ vitam qui porrigis urbi,
Fataque vicinis noxia pellis aquis.

* * * * *

Felices, proprium qui te meruere, coloni,
Fas quibus est Aponon juris habere sui.

CLAUD. ID. 6.

(See also Cassiodor. II. 38.) There was an oracle of
Geryon near these springs, which was consulted by
the throwing of dice. (Suet. Tib. 14.)

Vicentia.

Between Patavium and Verona we find Vicentia,
or, as it is sometimes written, Vicetia, (Strab. V.
214. Ælian. XIV. 8.) now *Vicenza*. Tacitus speaks
of it as a municipal town of little importance. (Hist.
III. 8. Plin. III. 19. Ptol. 63. Plin. Ep. V. 4. and
14.)

The mountainous tract of country north of Ve-
rona and *Vicenza* appears to have been inhabited by
various petty tribes of Euganean, or Tuscan origin.

Among these may be noticed the Arusnati, known ^{Arusnati.} only from some ancient inscriptions quoted by Maffei^v, and placed by him in the *Val Pullicella* above Verona. The Dripsinati are recognised by the same ^{Dripsinum.} antiquary^w as the people of *Tressino*, a town situated among the Vicentine hills.

The Symbri, mentioned by Strabo as being north of ^{Symbri.} the Veneti (V. 216.) are unknown^x, unless we adopt the opinion of those antiquaries who contend, that under this name the geographer meant to designate a particular tribe, supposed to be a remnant of the Cimbrian invasion, which has long been pointed out as existing in the hills above Verona and *Vicenza*^y. The Medoaci are another people noticed only by ^{Medoaci.} Strabo. (l. cit.) From the affinity which their name bears to the Meduacus, so often mentioned as being the *Brenta*, it seems reasonable to place them near the source of that river, and in the district of *Basano*. In that direction we find Acelum, now *Asolo*; ^{Acelum.} (Plin. III. 19. Ptol. p. 63.) and somewhat lower, on the left bank of the river Silis, Tarvisium, *Treviso*, ^{Tarvisium.}

^v Maffei Veron. Illustrat. l. i. Lanzi conceives, that the name of this people bears some trace of Etruscan origin. P. iii. p. 627.

^w Id. l. cit.

^x Many respectable critics, and among them the editor of the French Strabo, have thought, that the Insubres were meant to be spoken of here, as they doubtless are a few words below, where the editions read *Συμβρίους*. But here the geographer is enumerating some smaller tribes, situated above the Veneti, from whom the In-

subres were far removed. Geogr. de Strab. Eclairciss. N^o. 15. p. 30.

^y Marco Pezzo dei Cimbri Veronesi e Vicentini. Veron. 1763. This author gives a complete vocabulary of the language used by this singular colony; which is so like modern German, that one might be led to doubt, whether this people did not belong to some more recent migration. Panvinus is the earliest author who notices the tradition respecting these Italian Cimbri. Ant. Ver. II. 18.

Opitergium.

a municipium according to some inscriptions. (Cf. Cassiodor. X. 27. Procop. Rer. Got. II.) On the right bank of the Plavis is Opitergium, *Oderzo*, a town of some consequence. (Strab. V. 214. Plin. III. 19. Tacit. Hist. III. 6. Ptol. p. 63. Ammian. Marcell. XXIX.)

A remarkable trait is related by Lucan of a cohort of Opitergium, which manned a ship attached to Cæsar's party in the civil war against Pompey. Being surrounded by the fleet of the latter, these soldiers fought for a whole day, and perished by each other's hands rather than surrender to the enemy. (Phars. IV. 462. Cf. Flor. IV. 2. Liv. Epit. CX.)

Tridentini. Tridentum.

Alpes Tridentinæ.

Brixentes.

Balzanum.

Salurnum.

Alsuga.

Feltria.

As we advance towards the central Alpine ridge, which skirts the northern side of Venetia, we find the valleys occupied by a people of Rhætian origin. These possessed Tridentum, well known as *Trento* on the *Adige*, and on the great road which leads, now, as formerly, from Italy into Germany, by the pass of the *Brenner*, a mountain to which, with the adjacent Alps, the Tridentini communicated their name. (Dio Cass. LIV. Cf. Strab. IV. 204. Plin. III. 19. Ptol. p. 63. Amm. Marcell. XVI.) The Brixentes, who were inscribed on the trophy of Augustus, (Plin. III. 20. Cf. Ptol. p. 56.) are the people of *Brixen*. Between this place and Trent we find on the *Adige* Balzanum, *Botzen*, (Paul. Diacon. V. 36.) and a little lower, Salurnum, *Salorno*. (Id. III. 9.) A place named Alsuga by the same historian, and placed by the Itinerary of Antoninus between Tridentum and Opitergium, is probably to be traced in the name of *Valsugana*, a district situated near the source of the *Brenta*. Feltria, on the same road, is certainly *Feltre*, a town of some consequence, as would ap-

pear from inscriptions. (Cf. Plin. III. 19. Cassiod. V. 9.) A little lower on the same bank of the Piave is a place called *Quer*, the ancient name of which Cluverius supposes to have been *Ad Quercum*. Pliny *Quercus*. speaks of the *Querquani*. (III. 19.)

Belunum, or Berunum, is *Belluno*, somewhat *Belunum*. higher up on the same river. (Plin. III. 19. Ptol. p. 63.)

Ceneta is *Ceneda*, near *Oderzo*. (Paul. Diacon. V. *Ceneta*. 28. Agath. de Reb. Goth. II.) Celina, mentioned *Celina*. by Pliny as no longer existing in his time, (III. 19.) may be supposed to have stood on a little river which still preserves its name, and falls into the *Livenza*.

A little higher up we find Topium, *Topo*, Flamonia, *Topium*. *Flagogna*, and Vannia, *Flamma*. (Plin. III. 19.) *Flamonia*. *Vannia*.

To the north-east of the Veneti were the Carni, *Carni*. an Alpine nation, who occupied a considerable extent of territory, and whose existence is still to be traced in the modern appellation of *Carniola*.

In a fragment of the Fasti Capitolini the Carni are called Gauls; but though of Celtic origin, it is more probable that they were descended from the Taurisci. (Polyb. Fragm. ap. Strab. IV. 208.) We hear of some Gauls settling among them. (Liv. XXXIX. 54.)

Beyond the Tilavemptus, which has been considered as separating this nation from the Veneti, we find the rivers Varamus, *Stella*, Anassus, *Revonchi*, *Varamus fl.* and Alsa, now *Ausa*, mentioned in their order by *Anassus fl.* Pliny. (III. 18.) The latter also by Sex. Aur. Vict. *et Portus*. (Epit. de Cæs.) Its port has taken the modern name *Alsa fl. et* of the river. That of the Anassus is now called *Portus*. *Porto di Lignano*.

Aquileia.

Between the Alsa and Natiso, now *Natisone*, and about seven miles from the sea, stood the celebrated city of Aquileia, near the ruins of which the modern city of the same name has been built. It appears to have been first founded by some Transalpine Gauls about 187 B. C.; but being soon after taken possession of by the Romans, it was made a Latin colony five years after its first establishment. (Liv. XXXIX. 22, 45, 54. and XL. 54. Cf. Vell. Pater. I. 15.) The earliest author who mentions Aquileia is Polybius; who, in a fragment preserved by Strabo, speaks of it as having some valuable gold mines in its neighbourhood. (Strab. IV. 208.) Eustathius in his Commentary on Dionys. Perieg. asserts, that its name was derived from the Latin word *Aquila*.

Aquileia soon became the chief bulwark of Italy on its north-eastern frontier. It was already an important military post in the time of Cæsar, (Bell. Gall. I. 2. Cf. Cic. Orat. in Vat.) and continued to increase in prosperity and consequence till the fall of the Roman empire. In Strabo's time it had become the great emporium of all the trade of Italy with the nations of Illyria and Pannonia; these were furnished with wine, oil, and salt provisions, in exchange for slaves, cattle, and hides. The passage of Mount Ocra, the lowest point of the Julian or Carnic Alps, was easy for land carriage; and at Nauportus, on the other side, a navigable stream conveyed vessels to the *Save*, and from that river into the *Danube*. (V. 214. and IV. 207. Cf. Mel. II. 4. Herodian. VIII. Suet. Aug. 20. Tib. 7. Vesp. 6. Appian. Illyr. 18. Tacit. Hist. II. 46. and 85. III. 6. and 8. Plin. III. 18. Ptol. p. 63.) Ausonius

assigns to Aquileia the ninth place among the great cities of the empire.

Nona inter claras, Aquileia cieberis urbes,
Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes,
Mœnibus et portu celeberrima.

It withstood successfully a severe siege against Maximinus, who, being unable to take the place, was slain by his own soldiers: (Herodian. VIII.) but it could not hold out against the fury of Attila: its resistance only served to increase the savage ferocity of the conqueror, who caused it to be sacked and rased to the ground. (Cassiod. Chron. Procop. Vand. Rer. I. Freulf. Chron.) The port of Aquileia was situated at the mouth of the Natiso, (Plin. III. 18.) and is now called *Porto di Grado*. The same writer mentions a stream of the name of Turrus, as *Turrus fl.* flowing into the Natiso; it is now called *Torre*. *Natiso fl.* It is a point disputed by modern critics, whether the Natiso, which Strabo and other ancient writers place close to Aquileia, is the river at present called *Natisone*, as this stream is now some miles distant from the ruins of that city. The most probable supposition is, that some change has taken place in the bed of the river ^z.

The next river is the Sontius, *l'Isonzo*. (Cassiod. I. Sontius fl. Ep. 18. Herodian. VIII. Jul. Capitol. vit. Maxim.) It receives the Frigidus, now *Vipao*, on its left bank. *Frigidus fl.* The latter river is noticed by Claudian, when alluding

^z Feder. Altan. Saggio del t. xxii. and Gravi Lett. Nuov. Ant. Stor. del Friuli. Rag. I. Raccolt. d'Opusc. t. xxiii. p. 49. Nuov. Raccolt. d'Opusc.

to a battle fought close to it between the emperor Theodosius and the rebel Eugenius.

Alpinæ rubuere nives, et Frigidus amnis
Mutatis fumavit aquis; turbaque cadentum
Staret, ni rapidus juvisset flumina sanguis.

III. CONS. HONOR. 99.

Timavus fl. Few streams have been more celebrated in antiquity, or more sung by the poets, than the Timavus, to which we have now arrived. Its numerous sources, its lake and subterraneous passage, which have been the theme of the Latin muse from Virgil to Claudian and Ausonius, are now so little known, that their existence has even been questioned, and ascribed to poetical invention. It has been however well ascertained, that the name of *Timao* is still preserved by some springs which rise near *S. Giovanni di Carso* and the castle of *Duino*, and form a river, which, after a course of little more than a mile, falls into the Adriatic. The number of these sources seems to vary according to the difference of seasons ^a, which circumstance will account for the various statements which ancient writers have made respecting them. Strabo, who appears to derive his information from Polybius, reckoned seven, all of which, with the exception of one, were salt. According to Posidonius, the river really rose in the mountains at some distance from the sea, and disappeared under ground for the space of fourteen miles, when it issued forth again near the sea at the springs

^a Heyne ad Virg. *Æneid.* l. c'Italia, t. ii. p. 118. Filiasi c. 244. Houldsworth's Travels, p. 28. t. 2.
600. Grisellini Lett. nell Giorn.

above mentioned. (Strab. V. 215. Cf. Plin. II. 106.)
This account seems also verified by actual observation ^b.

The Timavus is indebted to the poetry of Virgil for the greater part of its fame.

Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi;
Unde per ora novem, vasto cum murmure montis
It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva sonanti.
ÆN. I. 244.

Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam saxa Timavi,
Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit umquam
Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
ECL. VIII. 6.

Tum sciat, aerias Alpes, et Norica siquis
Castella in tumulis, et Iapidis arva Timavi.
GEORG. III. 474.

Some other poetical citations have been already brought forward under the article of Aponus, which have reference also to this stream: we may notice, besides, two from Claudian.

Nunc, nunc o socii, temeratæ sumite tandem
Italix pænas, obsessi principis armis
Excusate nefas: deploratumque Timavo
Vulnus, et Alpinum gladiis abolete pudorem.
BELL. GET. 560.

Illyrici legitur plaga litoris: arva teruntur
Dalmatiæ: Phrygii numerantur stagna Timavi.
Gaudent Italix sublimibus opida muris
Adventu sacrata tuo. III. CONS. HON. 119.

^b Valvasor. Crainia, t. i. p. 172.

And Martial.

Et tu, Ledæo felix Aquileia Timavo,
Hic ubi septenas Cyllarus hausit aquas.

IV. EP. 25.

Laneus Euganei lupus excipit ora Timavi,
Æquoreo dulces cum sale pastus aquas.

XIII. EP. 86.

An tua multifidum numeravit lana Timavum,
Quem pius astrifero Cyllarus ore bibit ?

VIII. EP. 27.

Ausonius, when celebrating a fountain near *Bourdeaux*, his native city, compares its waters to the Timavus.

Salve, fons ignote ortu, sacer, alme, perennis,
Vitree, glauce, profunde, sonore, illimis, opace ;
Non Aponus potu, vitrea non luce Nemausus
Purior, æquoreo non plenior amne Timavus.

DE CLAR. URB.

Timavi
lacus.

The lake of the Timavus, mentioned by Livy in his account of the Histrian war, (XLI. 1.) is now called *Lago della Pictra Rossa*. Pliny speaks of some warm springs near the mouth of the river, (II. 103.) now *Bagni di Monte Falcone*. The temple and grove of Diomed^c, noticed by Strabo under the name of Timavum, may be supposed to have stood on the site of *S. Giov. del Carso*. (V. 214.)

Pucinum.

Castel Duino is the ancient Pucinum Castellum, celebrated for its wine, of which Julia Augusta used to declare, that it had prolonged her life to the advanced age of eighty-two. (Plin. III. 18. and XIV. 6 Ptol. p. 63.) The last town on the coast which

Tergeste.

is to be placed among the Carni is Tergeste, *Trieste*.

^c See note, p. 113.

a Roman colony, which gave its name to the gulf on which it stands. (Plin. III. 18. Vell. Pater. II. 110. Mel. II. 4.) In Strabo we find it sometimes called Tergesta, or Tergestæ, in the plural. (VII. 314. and V. 215.) The Greeks knew it by the name of Tergestrum. (Artemid. ap. Steph. Byz. Dionys. Perieg. 382. Ptol. p. 63.) We are not informed at what period this city received a Roman colony, but we learn from Cæsar that it suffered severely on one occasion from a sudden incursion of barbarians. (Bell. Gall. VIII. 24.) These, according to Appian, (Illyr. 18.) were the Iapydes, an Illyrian nation, ^{Iapydes.} whom Augustus had some difficulty in subduing. (Strab. IV. 207. and VII. 214.)

In the interior of the Carnic territory we have yet to notice Iulium Carnicum, now *Zuglio*, an important place, probably erected by Julius Cæsar to guard the frontier against the depredations of the Gauls and Illyrians. (Plin. III. 19. Ptol. p. 63.) It must be distinguished from Forum Julium, or Julii, ^{Iulium Carnicum.} *Ciudad di Friuli*, whence the district of which it is the chief town now receives its name. This city is also said to have been founded by Cæsar; (Paul. Diacon. II. 14.) but it appears to have been of no great consequence (Plin. III. 19.) till the time of Ptolemy, who styles it a Roman colony, p. 63. (Cf. Cassiod. XII. 26.) Recent discoveries have proved, that at the time of its fall, which is uncertain, it was no mean city, since it possessed a circus, campus Martius, several temples, and other public buildings^d.

^d For an account of the interesting discoveries made relating to the site and remains of this ancient town in 1817, see the Giorn. Arcadico di Roma, or an extract from it in the Literary Gazette, Lond. Jan. 1824.

Vedinum. Vedinum is better known as the modern *Udine*. (Plin. III. 19.)

On the left bank of the *Tagliamento* are a number of little obscure places, which retain some vestiges of their ancient names, as we find them recorded by Paul. Diacon. (IV. 38.) Reunia, Osopum, Artenia, Glemona, Nemasum, now *Rean*, *Osopo*, *Artegna*, *Gemona*, *Mazo*; Cormones is *Cormons*, near *Gradisca*. (Id. loc. cit.)

Noreia. The position of Noreia, a town belonging to the Norici, remains uncertain^e, as the passage in Strabo which refers to it is confessedly corrupt. (V. 214.) Cluverius places it on the left bank of the *Tagliamento*, near *Venzon*^f. Strabo speaks of its gold mines, and further mentions that Cn. Carbo had an unsuccessful action with the Cimbri in its vicinity. (loc. cit.) Pliny informs us, that Noreia no longer existed in his time. (III. 23.)

Histria. The Greeks, whose imaginations delighted to rove amidst the most barbarous countries and the wildest tribes in search of any thing that was strange or marvellous, had in early times laid in Histria the scene of one of those fabulous actions, which afforded indeed a brilliant field to the poet, and dazzled the eyes of the vulgar, but by perpetuating error, served to check the sober progress of truth and knowledge. Connecting by a vague and confused association their notion of Histria with that of the great river from which they supposed it to have derived its name, they conveyed the Argonauts in their heaven-sent bark from the Euxine into the Hister, and then, by an unheard-of communication between this river

^e See the French Strabo, ^f Ital. Antiq. I. p. 203. Eclairciss. N°. XIII. p. 24.

and the Adriatic, launched their heroes into the waters of the latter. (Scylax in. Perip. p. 6. Diod. IV. Strab. I. 46. and 57. Aristot. Hist. Anim. VIII. 13. Plin. III. 18.)

Not satisfied with these wonders, they affirmed that a band of Colchians, sent in pursuit of the ravisher of Medea, followed the same course, and, wearied by a fruitless search, rested in Histria, and finally settled on its shores. (Pomp. Mel. II. 3. Justin. XXXII.) This strange error, arising probably from a confusion of names, no longer prevailed when Histria became known to the Romans, and formed part of their vast empire. We then find its circuit and shape accurately described and defined by Strabo (VII. 314.) and Pliny. (III. 19.) Little is known respecting the origin of the Istrians; but an old geographer describes them as a nation of Thracian race, (Scymn. Chius. Perieg.) and this opinion seems at least to have probability in its favour. There is little to interest in the account of the wars waged by the Romans against this insignificant people; it is to be found in Livy: (XLI. 1—10.) they were completely subjugated A. U. C. 575.

The river Formio, *Risano*, had been considered, Formio fl. before the reign of Augustus, as the boundary of Italy towards its north-eastern extremity; but when Histria was included in Cisalpine Gaul, this limit was removed to the little river Arsia. (Plin. III. 18.)

The first town which presents itself on the coast, after crossing the Formio, is Ægida, (Plin. III. 19.) Ægida.
Ægidis 1^a. now *Capo d'Istria*, situated in a small island named Ægidis, at the mouth of this river. According to

an inscription quoted by Cluverius^g, Ægida was afterwards called Justinopolis.

Paren-
tium.

Parentium, with a sea-port, (Plin. III. 19. Ptol. p. 63. Steph. Byz.) nearly retains its original name as *Parenzo*.

Pola, post-
ea Pietas
Julia.

But the town of Pola, which next follows on the coast, and still preserves its name unchanged, was much the most ancient and important city of Histria. Tradition reported it to have been founded by the Colchians, whom Æetes had sent in pursuit of the Argonauts. Without stopping to examine what circumstance gave rise to so improbable a fiction, it will be sufficient to observe, that the antiquity of Pola is attested by Lycophron (v. 1022.) and Callimachus^h. (Ap. Strab. V. 215.) It became afterwards a Roman colony, and took the name of Pietas Julia. (Plin. III. 19. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 63. Amm. Marcell. XIV. Steph. Byz.)

Polaticum
Promonto-
rium.

From the splendid remains of antiquity which are yet to be seen at Pola, it is evident that it was a city of no little note. The Promontorium Polaticum is at present known as the *Punta di Promontiore*. (Strab. VII. 314.) *Castel Nuovo*, at the

Arsia fl.

Nesactium.

mouth of the Arsia, probably occupies the site of Nesactium, mentioned by Livy (XLI. 11.) as the capital of a small principality. (Plin. III. 19. Ptol. p. 63.) Mutila and Faveria, noticed by Livy in the same passage with the former town, are perhaps *Medolino* and *Peara*. These, with Piquentum, (Ptol. p. 63.) now *Piguento*, are all the ancient

Mutila.
Faveria.

Piquen-
tum.

^g Ital. Ant. I. 210.

^h It is to be questioned, however, whether these citations do

not apply to another city of the same name on the coast of Epirus.

cities known to have existed in the interior of Histria.

Some small islands, nearly opposite Pola, which Pliny calls *Insulæ Pullariæ*, (III. 26.) and Strabo mentions as fertile, and affording good shelter for vessels, are known at present by the names of *Isola di Brioni*, *Conversara*, and *S. Nicolo*. (Strab. V. 215.) Pullariæ
insulæ.

But the most noted islands on this coast are those named Absyrtides, as tradition reported, from Absyrtus, the brother of Medea. (Hygin. Myth. Fab. 23. Strab. VII. 315. Mel. II. 7. Plin. III. 26.) Apollonius gives them the name of Brigeides, but seems to imply that they changed it afterwards to that which was first mentioned. (Argon. IV. 515.) The principal one was called Absorus, with a town Absyrtides
insulæ. of the same name. (Ptol. p. 63.) These islands, four in number, are known in modern geography as *Cherso*, *Osero*, *Ferosina*, and *Chao*. Absorus.

The gulf which lay between Histria and Liburnia, the neighbouring district of Illyria, was termed *Polaticus Sinus*, (Mel. II. 3.) or sometimes *Flanaticus Sinus*, (Plin. III. 19.) from Flano, a town on the Illyrian side of it. (Artemid. ap. Steph. Byz.) The modern name is *Golfo di Quarnaro*. Polaticus,
vel Flana-
ticus Sinus.

ROMAN ROADS.

Aquileia was the central point to which all the roads that traversed Venetia tended, and from which others diverged to pass into the neighbouring provinces of Illyria and Pannonia.

The principal and most important of these was that branch of the Via Æmilia which has been described from Milan to Verona in the preceding section; from the latter city to Aquileia we have a great detail of stations in the Jerusalem Itinerary.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.		
Verona	<i>Verona</i>			
Cadianum	<i>Caldiero</i>	-	-	X.
Aureos	<i>Montebello</i>	-	-	X.
Vicentiam	<i>Vicenza</i>	-	-	XI.
ad Finem	<i>Arlesega</i>	-	-	XI.
Patavium	<i>Padova</i>	-	-	X.
ad Duodecimum	-	-	-	XII.
ad Nonum	-	-	-	XI.
Altinum	<i>Altino</i>	-	-	IX.
Sanos	-	-	-	X.
Concordiam ⁱ	<i>Concordia</i>	-	-	IX.
Apicilium	<i>Latisana</i>	-	-	IX.
ad Undecimum	-	-	-	X.
Aquileiam	<i>Aquileia</i>	-	-	XI.

At Verona, this road was joined by another, which crossed the Tridentine Alps, and terminated in Germany at Augusta Vindelicorum, *Augsburg*; following precisely the same direction as the modern

ⁱ D'Anville justly observes, that some other station is omitted between Altinum and Concordia, as the real distance is

upwards of thirty miles, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus. *Anal. Geog.* p. 85.

chaussée, which traverses the *Tyrol*, and descends into Italy by *Trent* and the valley of the *Adige*. The stations on this route from Veldidena, *Wiltten*, near *Inspruck*, are thus stated in the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Table.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.		
Vipitenum	<i>Sterzing</i>	-	-	XXXVI.
Sublavionem	<i>Clausen</i>	-	-	XXXII.
Pontem Drusi	<i>Castel Drud</i>	-	-	XIII.
Endidas	<i>Egna</i>	-	-	XI.
Tridentum	<i>Trento</i>	-	-	XVI.
ad Palatium	<i>Ala</i>	-	-	XXIV.
Veronam	<i>Verona</i>	-	-	XXXVI.

From this road again we find two others branching off at different points, through the most mountainous parts of the Carnic territory, and joining the *Via Æmilia*, the one at *Aquileia*, the other at *Concordia*. The distances of the former, as they are marked in the Itinerary of Antoninus, are

Sebatum	<i>Sabs near Brixen</i>			
Littamum	-	-	-	XXIII.
Aguntum	<i>Innichen</i>	-	-	XXIII.
Loncium	<i>Luccau</i>	-	-	XVIII.
Julium Carnicum	<i>Zuglio</i>	-	-	XXII.
ad Tricesimum	<i>Trigesimo</i>	-	-	XXX.
Aquileiam	<i>Aquileia</i>	-	-	XXX.

The stations of the latter, according to the same Itinerary, are as follows :

Tridentum	<i>Trento</i>			
Ausugum	<i>Alsugana</i>	-	-	XXIIII.
Feltriam	<i>Feltre</i>	-	-	XXX.
ad Cepasias	-	-	-	XXVIII.
Opitergium	<i>Oderzo</i>	-	-	XXVIII.
Concordiam	<i>Concordia</i>	-	-	XV.

When describing the Via Æmilia in the last section, I mentioned that there was another branch of it, which, according to Strabo, (V. 217.) communicated with Aquileia in a more direct manner. Striking off at *Modena*, it crossed the *Po* to the west of *Ferrara*, and rejoined the main road at *Padua*. This road is laid down in the Antonine Itinerary as the way from Bononia to Aquileia.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.		
Bononia	<i>Bologna</i>			
Mutinam	<i>Modena</i>	-	-	XXV.
Vicum Serninum	-	-	-	XXIII.
Vicum Varianum	<i>Bariano</i>	-	-	XX.
Anneianum	<i>Legnano</i>	-	-	XVIII.
Ateste	<i>Este</i>	-	-	XX.
Patavium	<i>Padova</i>	-	-	XV.
Altinum	<i>Altino</i>	-	-	XXXII.
Concordiam	<i>Concordia</i>	-	-	XXXI.
Aquileiam	<i>Aquileia</i>	-	-	XXXI.

There was also a communication between Ravenna and Aquileia along the shore of the Adriatic, which is marked in the Table in the following manner.

Ravenna	<i>Ravenna</i>			
Butrium	-	-	-	VI.
Augustam	<i>Agosta</i>	-	-	VI.
Sagim ad Padum	<i>Fiscaglia</i>	-	-	XII.
Neroniam	<i>Codigoro</i>	-	-	IV.
Corniculariam	<i>Mezzogoro</i>			
Hadrianum	<i>Ariano</i>	-	-	VI.
VII. Maria	<i>Marozzo</i>	-	-	VI.
Fossam	-	-	-	VI.
Ebronem	<i>Chiozza</i>	-	-	XVIII.
Minorem Meduacum	-	-	-	VI.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.	
Majorem Meduacum	<i>Malamocco</i>	-	- VI.
ad Portum	<i>Fusina</i>	-	- III.
Altinum	<i>Altino</i>	-	- XVI.

From Aquileia, two roads led into Pannonia and Histria. The first of these, as was stated elsewhere, crossed the Julian Alps, or the Mons Odra of Strabo, a passage apparently frequented from the earliest period. Its stations are thus laid down in the Jerusalem Itinerary.

Aquileia	<i>Aquileia</i>		
ad Undecimum	-	-	- XI.
ad Fornulos	<i>Verloza</i>	-	- XII.
Castra	<i>Gemunde</i>	-	- XII.
ad Summas Alpes (Julias)	<i>Adelsberg</i>	-	- VIII.

We learn from this Itinerary, and from Herodian, (VIII. 1.) that the confines of Italy were, at a late period of the Roman empire, extended beyond the Julian Alps to the *Save*. *Æmona*, now *Laybach*, was then considered as the last town of Italy.

A road is marked in the Table, as branching off from the last towards the province of Noricum, along the banks of the Sontius, *l'Isonzo*.

Aquileia	<i>Aquileia</i>		
ad Silanos	<i>Sella</i>	-	- XXXV.
Tasinemetum ^k	<i>Tarvis</i>		
Salocam	<i>Selch</i>	-	- VIII.
Virunum	<i>Volkmark</i>	-	- XI.

The road leading from Aquileia into Histria followed the coast round the whole peninsula as far as

^k Probably Tarvisium, or Tarvisetum.

Tarsatica, now *Tarsatsh*, in Liburnia. The stations are thus marked in the Antonine Itinerary.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles
Aquileia	<i>Aquileia</i>	
Fontem Timavi	<i>Timao</i> - - -	XII.
Tergeste	<i>Trieste</i> - - -	XII.
Ningum	- - -	XXVIII
Parentium	<i>Parenzo</i> - - -	XVIII.
Polam	<i>Pola</i> - - -	XXI. ¹

From Trieste, there was a shorter cut across the peninsula, by

Anesicam	<i>Senasetsch</i> - - -	XII.
ad Malum	<i>Jablonovitz</i> - - -	XVIII
ad Titulos	- - -	XVII.
Tarsaticam	<i>Tarsatsh</i> - - -	XVII.

¹ According to the Table, this number should be XXX. In the same Itinerary there is an intermediate place named Silvium, between Parentium and Pola, probably *Tilcovich*.

SECTION IV.

ETRURIA.

Origin of the Tuscans—The Tyrrhenian and Pelasgic migrations, connected with the history of that nation—Extent and boundaries of Etruria Proper—Description of the coast and adjacent islands—Interior—The river Tiber—Public roads.

OF all the ancient nations of Italy, none appears to have such claims upon our notice as that of the Tuscans. Their celebrity at a time when Rome as yet had no existence; the superiority of their political institutions; their progress in navigation, commerce, and many other arts of civilized life, when the surrounding nations were to all appearance enveloped in ignorance and barbarism, are circumstances which even in the present day must arrest inquiry, and command alike the attention of the historian and philosopher.

Whence this improvement in civilization, this rapid advancement in political growth, is a question which immediately suggests itself to every inquirer, and for which he unfortunately in vain seeks for an answer in the scanty fragments of antiquity, which shed but a faint and glimmering light on the annals of this singular and illustrious people.

So evident indeed has the insufficiency of historical information on the origin of the Tuscans appeared, that many antiquaries of celebrity in the last

century, despairing of obtaining any clue to this search from the conflicting testimony of ancient writers, have not hesitated to quit altogether the beaten track of history, and to venture amidst the untrodden and alluring mazes of conjecture. The consequence of this mode of investigation was easy to be foreseen; system followed system, till there scarcely remained any nation of acknowledged antiquity, to which the honour of having colonized Etruria was not attributed.

Thus it was supposed that the Tuscans might be descended from the Egyptians^a, the Canaanites^b, or the Phœnicians^c. Others again contended for their Celtic origin^d. Freret ascribed it to the Rhæti^e. Hervas to the ancient Cantabri^f; while some again gave up all hope of arriving at any certain conclusion in this puzzling question, and seemed to consider it as one of those historical problems which must for ever remain without a solution^g. The multiplicity of the opinions which have just been noticed, is the best proof of the little dependence that is to be placed on systems which trust for support to conjecture alone. The rational inquirer into obscure points of history will never rely solely on this mode of investigation for success. If he requires the aid of conjecture, he will use it at least with caution, and he will rather be led towards it by the

^a Bonarruoti ad Monum. Dempster.

^b Maffei Ragion. degli Itali primitivi, p. 218—228. Mazzochi Comment. in Tab. Heracle. p. 15. and Orig. Tirrhene. Mem. Acad. Corton. t. iii.

^c Swinton de Ling. Etruriæ Regalis vernacula. Oxon. 1738.

^d Pelloutier Hist. des Celtes, lib. i. p. 178. Bardetti dei primi abit. d'Ital. t. i.

^e Freret Hist. de l'Acad. t. xviii.

^f Idea del Universo, t. xvii. c. 4.

^g Micali l'Italia, &c. i. c. 10.

natural course of his inquiry, than suffer it to assume the front and leading feature of his plan. The records of history, even where they seem most to fail us, will be found a safer and surer guide than reasoning which is founded on mere assumption and hypothesis.

It is then with the united aid of history, and conjecture used with moderation, (for I fear that in a question of such remote antiquity it cannot altogether be dispensed with,) that I shall endeavour to feel my way through this intricate subject; and though I may not succeed in throwing much new light upon it, yet, as the discussion may be of use to the young antiquary and the historical student, I will enter upon it as far as my own limited knowledge, and the little space I can devote to it in a work of this general nature, will allow me.

There are three sources from which we may expect to derive information respecting the origin of the ancient Tuscans. 1st, The accounts of Greek writers. 2d, Those of the Romans. 3d, The existing national monuments discovered in Etruria. With respect to the Romans, it is well known that they concerned themselves but little about inquiries into the origin of nations, and received without much examination all the accounts even of the early population of Italy, which were transmitted to them by the Greeks, their masters in every species of literature; so that little original information can be derived from them in an inquiry which is to be traced considerably higher than the foundation of their city. The evidence which is supplied by the inscriptions and coins of Etruria, respecting the origin of its inhabitants, has hitherto done little towards

settling the question; and since the age of these monuments, which had been greatly overrated, has been proved by able judges^h to be posterior to the commencement even of the Roman republic, we are obliged to seek among the historians and poets of Greece for the earliest records of Etruscan history. It is well known that the inhabitants of that country are always spoken of by the Greeks under the name of Tyrseni, or Tyrrheniⁱ, while the Romans designate them by that of Etrusci, or Tusci. This difference of nomenclature will be considered more fully hereafter; but it may be observed at present, that it seems too decided to allow of the supposition that either is a corruption of the other^k; whence we should be led to infer, that the Tyrrheni and Tusci were not originally the same people, even if history did not farther establish the fact.

Who then were the Tyrrheni of the Greeks, and whence did that name originate? This is in fact the problem, on the solution of which the whole difficulty of the present question seems to hang, and which I will at once proceed to examine. But whether it admits of being decided with our present data, will perhaps be still doubted by abler critics.

^h Lanzi *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, P. iii. p. 38. Id. *Notizie Prelim. circa la Scoltura degli Antichi*, p. 10. Heyne *Monumentorum Etruscae Artis ad genera sua et tempora revocatorum illustratio*. Nov. Comment. Soc. Gotting. ann. 1774. t. v. Id. *Etrusca Antiquitas a Commentitiis interpretamentis liberata*, t. vii. p. 17. ann. 1776.

ⁱ The older writers, up to Polybius, always employ the former

appellation.

^k And yet Heyne, who forms the word Tyrseni from the *Rasena* of Dionysius, has not scrupled to derive the Latin appellations also from the same origin, with what probability, I must leave the reader to judge. See Heynii *Comment. de Fab. Religionumque Græc. ab Etrusca arte frequentatarum* Nov. Soc. Gott. t. iii. p. 39.

If we are to credit the famous Lydian tradition recorded by Herodotus, (I. 94.) that ancient people ought to be considered as the parent stock of the Tyrrhenians. According to their account, a great famine arose in Lydia during the reign of Atys, one of their earliest kings : when it had lasted for several years, it was at length determined that the nation should divide itself into two parts, under the respective command of Lydus and Tyrrhenus, the two sons of Atys ; one of which was to migrate, the other to remain in possession of the country. It fell to the lot of Tyrrhenus to abandon Lydia, with the people under his charge. He accordingly equipped a fleet at Smyrna, and set sail in quest of a country to settle in ; when, after passing by various nations and countries, he finally arrived among the Umbri, where he founded several cities, which the people, who from him were called Tyrrhenians, occupied up to the time of Herodotus.

It is to be observed, that Herodotus simply delivers this account as he received it from the Lydians, without vouching for the truth of the remarkable event it was intended to record. But it would not be difficult to shew that he himself gave credit to the legend, or at least saw no improbability in the facts which it related. It is usual with that historian to express his dissent where his mind is not convinced ; and on one occasion of a similar nature, where he notices an Illyrian nation which pretended to be descended from the Medes, he says, “ that he “ cannot see how that could be ;” but adds, “ that any “ thing may happen in length of time.” (V. 9.) If we divest the Lydian tradition of some marvellous circumstances which are attached to it, particularly

those that relate to the famine, which may fairly be charged to oriental hyperbole, there still remains the record of an important event ; which, considering the character of the historian who has handed it down to us, and the geographical information he possessed, is certainly entitled to our attention, if it does not recommend itself to our belief. Herodotus was well acquainted with the Tyrrheni and Umbri of Italy, and was therefore a competent judge of the truth or probability of the Lydian tale. But even allowing its improbability, it ought not for that reason merely to be rejected, since we should be led, *a priori*, to expect in this matter something out of the common course, in order to account for the marked difference which originally existed between the Tuscans and the other ancient nations of Italy. But the greatest argument in its favour, after all, must be allowed to consist in the weight of testimony which can be collected in support of it from the writers of antiquity, especially those of Rome, who, with few exceptions, seem to concur in admitting the fact of the Lydian colony. These are, Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 479. et pass. Cat. XXXI. 13. Hor. Sat. I. 6. Stat. Silv. I. 2. and IV. 4. Cic. de Cons. 2. Senec. ad Helv. Justin. XX. 1. Val. Max. II. 4. Plut. vit. Romul. et Probl. Rom. Ant. II. Plin. III. 5.; and from Tacitus (*Ann.* IV. 56.) it appears, that in the reign of Tiberius the Tuscans wrote to the Sardians, acknowledging their common descent from the same stock¹. Nor can it be said that these writers derived their information entirely from Herodotus. There were other

¹ The silence of Livy on the subject of this tradition must be considered as rather unfavourable to the pretensions of Lydia.

vourable to the pretensions of Lydia.

accounts, which, however they might differ in some particulars from the narrative of that historian, agreed with it in the main point, viz. the fact of the Lydian migration. (See Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. 28.) Strabo, who has entered very fully into the discussion of the Tyrrhenian origin, does not seem to entertain any doubt of the event which we are now considering; and he quotes Anticlides, an historian of some authority ^m, who reports, that the first Pelasgi settled in the islands of Imbros and Lemnos, and that some of them sailed with Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, to Italy. (Strab. V. 219.ⁿ) In short, the presumption would appear so strong in favour of this popular account of the origin of the Tyrrheni, that we might consider the question to be decided, were not our attention called to the opposite side by some weighty objections, advanced long since by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and farther strongly urged by some modern critics of great learning and reputation. Dionysius seems to stand alone among the writers of antiquity, as invalidating the facts recorded by Herodotus; and though his own explanation of the origin of the Tyrrhenians is evidently inconsistent and unsatisfactory, still it must be owned that his arguments tend greatly to discredit the colony of the Lydian Tyrrhenus. He maintains, in the first place, that it is fabulous, from the silence, on so important an event, of Xanthus, the historian of Lydia, a writer of great research and authority,

^m Anticlides the Athenian flourished about the time of Alexander; he wrote *Νόστοι*, or, Adventures of the Greeks on their return from Troy, and *Δηλιακά*. (Voss. Hist. Græc. l. iii.

p. 322.)

ⁿ Other authorities will be found in Cluverius, (Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 1.) and in the Dissertation of Ryckius, c. 6.

and more ancient than Herodotus. Xanthus acknowledges no Lydian prince of the name of Tyrrhenus; the sons of Atys, according to him, were Lydus and Torybus, who both remained in Asia. Again; Dionysius asserts, that there was no resemblance to be discovered either in the religion, customs, or language of the Lydians and Tuscans; and lastly, from the discrepancy to be observed in the various statements of the genealogy of Tyrrhenus and the period of his migration, he feels justified in rejecting that event as a mere fiction. (Ant. Rom. I. 30.) The advocates of Herodotus, however, have not been intimidated by these arguments, but have endeavoured to prove their insufficiency. Among these may be reckoned Ryckius^o, bishop Cumberland^p, Dempster^q, Larcher^r, and Lanzi^s. On the other hand, the reasons advanced by the Greek historian have appeared convincing to some eminent critics, such as Cluverius^t, Freret^u, and Heyne^x; who have besides added other objections to those already started. Freret has observed, that the Lydians were never considered as a maritime people; and at any rate that the art of navigation, at the period which we ought to assign to the Lydian colony, according to the account of Herodotus, must have been quite in its infancy.

With regard to this objection it is remarkable,

^o De primis Italiæ Colonis, c. 6.

v. 2. p. 102.

^p Connection of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, Tract vii. ch. 2.

^t Ital. Ant. t. i. l. i. c. 1.

^u Mem. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 97.

^q Etrur. Regal. l. i. c. 4.

^x Comment. de Fab. Religionumque Græc. ab Etrusca Arte frequentatarum Nov. Soc. Gott. t. iii. p. 39.

^r Notes sur le ch. 92. l. i. d'Herodote, vol. i.

^s Saggio di Ling. Etrusc.

that in the naval epochs of Castor^y we find the Lydians mentioned as an early maritime power. They are said to have ruled the sea for ninety-two years. The epoch which is assigned to them, from the number 842 affixed to it, would relate to the period which immediately followed the siege of Troy, and would seem to agree with the opinion of Vell. Paterculus, who fixes the migration of Tyrrhenus about the time of Orestes. (I. 1.^z) But Heyne, in a learned dissertation on these naval epochs of Castor, has endeavoured to prove, that the one in question does not apply so much to the Lydians, properly so called, as the Carians, who appear to have had a common origin with the Lydians, and were much intermixed with them^a. However that may be, I should not be inclined to dispute the event now under examination, from the consideration of the imperfect state of navigation in the remote era under which it necessarily falls. It is clear the ancients themselves did not discredit it on that account, since Dionysius has admitted naval expeditions in a period of still greater antiquity. It is evident that the art of navigation had already attained to a certain degree of perfection before the siege of Troy. Not to mention the Phœnicians, who in the most remote ages are known to have navigated every part of the Mediterranean, as well as other seas, we find that Minos, king of

^y Castor was a Greek of Marseilles, who flourished under the Ptolemies, and wrote on the nations who in ancient times were masters of the sea. Apollod. Bibl. Suidas Castor. Meurs. Bibl. Græc.

^z It seems impossible to admit so late a period as this for

the Tyrrhenian migration, since the existence of the Tyrrheni in Italy before the siege of Troy appears to be placed beyond a doubt.

^a Comment. supra Epochis Populorum θαλαττοκρατησάντων. Nov. Comment. Soc. Gotting. vol. i. p. 80.

Crete, had a powerful navy for that age, and made expeditions into Sicily and Italy. (Herod. VII. 169.) The Phæacians also had acquired a considerable degree of celebrity as a commercial people; and it will be seen that the Tyrrheni themselves, whoever they were, are spoken of as notorious corsairs in fabulous times. We must have more solid objections therefore to overthrow the credit which the tradition recorded by Herodotus obtained among the ancients. But those stated by Dionysius are weighty, and, combined with obvious difficulties as to time, means, and other circumstances, are not, I apprehend, to be removed. The silence of Xanthus, though strictly speaking it is only a negative argument, can scarcely be explained on any other supposition, than that he considered this tradition of the Lydians, however current it might be, as unworthy of mention. But the objection which, after all, must be reckoned as most conclusive against the Lydian origin of the Tyrrheni, is the absence of all conformity in the important relations of customs, religion, and language, between the mother-country and its pretended colony, which certainly would not have been the case, if a migration to such an extent as Herodotus reports had really taken place from one country to the other. There are, it is true, some exceptions to this general assertion of Dionysius, and some features of resemblance have been traced between the two nations, but they seem too faint and imperfect to throw much weight into the scale. It is remarked, that divination and augury, which form so leading a distinction in the religion of Etruria^b, took their rise

^b The superstitious practice of the liver of victims obtained of divining from the inspection in Asia at a very early period,

in Caria, according to Pliny ; (VII. 56.) and we hear frequently in Herodotus of the diviners of Telmissus, as having exercised their art at a very remote period. (I. 78. and 84. Cic. de Div. I. 40. Suid. v. Τελμισεῖς.) The superstitions of Phrygia are also frequently observable in the monuments of Etruria ^c.

The insignia of royalty, such as the curule chair and the purple robe, which the Romans borrowed from the Tuscans, are recognised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself, as Lydian badges of honour ; (III. 61.) and the eagle standards of Rome, also originally Tuscan, appear to have been common to the armies of Persia. (Xen. Anab. I. 10.)

The comic dancers of Etruria, called Ludii, were celebrated for their agility and grace, and according to Val. Maximus, (II. 4.) who mentions their introduction at Rome, they derived this talent from the Curetes and Lydians. (Cf. Liv. VII. 2.) Lastly, it is singular enough that two customs peculiar to the Etruscans, as we discover from their monuments, should have been noticed by Herodotus as characteristic of the Lycians and Caunians in Asia Minor. The first is, that the Etruscans invariably describe their parentage and family with reference to the mother, and not the father ^d. (Her. I. 173. Nic. Damasc. ap. Stob. p. 292.) The other, that they admitted their wives to their feasts and banquets ^e. (Herod. I. 172. Aristot. ap. Athen. I. p. 23.) These

being alluded to by the prophet

Ezekiel, (c. xxi. v. 21.) where Grotius observes, that the Lydians had probably derived this practice from the Chaldees, and had transmitted it to the Tus-

cans.

^c Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 105.

^d Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 314.

^e Micali, vol. ii. p. 86. and Tav. 36. and 37.

are all the points of similarity between the two nations which I have been able to trace or collect from the observations of others ; and though they tend perhaps to establish a notion of a communication between Asia Minor and Etruria, I am far from thinking that they make out a case in favour of Lydia ; for if they prove any thing, it is that the Carians, Lycians, and Phrygians, have as good a claim to the honour of colonizing Italy, as their neighbours the Lydians.

Having now fairly exhausted the question as far as the account furnished by Herodotus is concerned, and being compelled to own that it is by no means satisfactory or convincing, an opinion in which the farther examination of the subject tends to confirm me, I will proceed as briefly as possible to investigate the remaining points of this inquiry.

It is a fact sufficiently established on good authority, that the Greeks were acquainted with a people whom they called Tyrrhenians, but whose geographical position was very different from that of their Italian namesakes. According to Herodotus, they occupied a district contiguous to that of the city of Cresthona on the Thracian border of Macedonia, (I. 57.) and Stephanus Byz. mentions Æane and Elymnea as two of their towns in Macedonia. Thucydides has also noticed them in the Chalcidic region near Mount Athos, and describes them as the Tyrrheni, who once dwelt at Athens and in the island of Lemnos. (IV. 109.) From other sources we learn, that these Tyrrheni, or Pelasgi, as they are often called, had built for the Athenians the wall which surrounded their acropolis ; but being afterwards driven out of Attica, are said to have retired to the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, after having expelled

the descendants of the Argonauts. (Herod. IV. 145. Apoll. Rhod. Argon. IV. ubi vid. Schol.) The father of Pythagoras is said to have been one of these Tyrrhenians. (Aristoxen. ap. Porphy. vit. Pythag.^f) We hear too of the Tyrrhenians in the island of Lesbos; (Hellan. Lesb. ap. Steph. Byz. v. Metaon.) also about the Hellespont in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus, and on the shores of the Chersonese. (Conon. XLI. apud Phot. Bibl.)

Here then is sufficient evidence of the existence of the Tyrrheni, as a people known to the Greeks under that specific appellation, though they are frequently designated by the generic name of Pelasgi; and if we admit that it was this people which at an early period migrated from Thrace and the north of Greece into Italy, there will be found, I apprehend, no better system for reconciling the various and contradictory opinions, which have been entertained on this point of history by many writers both in ancient and modern times.

I am aware however that it will here be necessary to prove one important particular; namely, that the Tyrrheni spoken of in the passages just cited were an original people, and not, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus imagined, apparently on the authority of Hellanicus of Lesbos, a remnant of the Pelasgi; who, after leaving Italy, brought back with them into Greece the name of Tyrrhenians, as commemorative of their residence in the former country. (Ant. Rom. I. 28.) Unless this point is established against

^f This fact seems to account for the notion which some writers have entertained, that

Pythagoras was a native of Etruria.

Dionysius, it is evident that the question will be left as intricate as ever; for we shall then be obliged to look to Italy for the origin of a name which does not appear to have been known generally in that country, and is Greek to all intents and purposes ^g. Not to mention the improbability of these Pelasgi returning from Italy to found cities in Macedonia, on the shores of the Hellespont, and in the islands of the Ægean, I would observe, that if we admit this portion of them to have come from Italy, we must also allow that those who resided for some time in Athens had removed thither from the same country. Now that this was not the case appears from Herodotus, who reports, that these Pelasgi, as they were then more usually called, came from Samothrace, and introduced at Athens the religion and mysteries peculiar to the former place. (II. 51.) But even granting that some of these wandering bands found their way again from Italy into Thrace and Macedon, it must be allowed to probability on the other hand, that in doing so they returned to the original abode and first settlements of their tribe. To enter here into an inquiry respecting the Pelasgi of Greece would far exceed the limits of this discussion; nor is it indeed necessary, as that point of ancient history has already been very fully and ably investigated ^h. But whatever may be the origin of that name used spe-

^g I of course am considering the derivation of *Τυρσηνοὶ* from the word *Τύρραις* as a mere fancy of scholiasts and grammarians: but if that word was used by the Tyrrheni, and in the same sense that it bears in Greek,

(Dion. Hal. I. 27.) the notion which identifies the Tyrrheni and Pelasgi acquires additional confirmation.

^h See Marsh's *Horæ Pelasgicæ*.

cifically, we cannot doubt that it was afterwards applied to tribes of different origins, as indicative of their wandering and unsettled habits. There can be no better argument for disproving the system of Dionysius, with regard to the Tyrrheni Pelasgi, than that which establishes the existence of this nation in the most distant period of the history of Greece, and much prior to the siege of Troy, about which time it is pretended they returned from Italy. To this effect I would adduce one of the hymns commonly ascribed to Homer, which contains the well known story of Bacchus being carried off from Naxos by a Tyrrhenian corsair, whose crew were afterwards changed by the god into dolphins. Allowing this story to be a fiction, which it undoubtedly is, it must nevertheless be considered as proving the existence of the Tyrrheni as pirates of the Ægean in fabled times. I would draw the same inference from two facts recorded of the same people by Athenæus; the one quoted from Possis the Magnesians, (VII. 12.) of an engagement said to have taken place between the Argonauts and Tyrrheni, in which all the former were wounded, except Glaucus their pilotⁱ. The other is taken from Menodotus, an ancient historian of Samos, (XV. 12.) who reports, that during the residence of Admeta, daughter of Eurystheus, in that island, after she had abandoned Argos, an attempt was made by some Tyrrhenian pirates, at the instigation of the Argives, to carry off the statue of Juno. The epoch of this event is marked by the

ⁱ I am here supposing, that the expedition of the Argonauts was confined to the seas of Greece, and consequently, that this fact has no reference to the Tyrrheni of Etruria.

mention of Admeta, and the circumstance of Samos being at that time inhabited by the Carians. Here then we have the Tyrrhenians contemporary with the Carians, pirates like themselves considerably before the Trojan war; and as it seems out of the question to ascribe this and the former events to the Tyrrheni of Italy, we must suppose that a people of this name did exist on the coasts and in the islands of the Ægean, in the earliest age of Grecian story.

Lastly, in proof of the antiquity of the Tyrrhenian name in Greece, I would cite the passage which Dionysius quotes from the *Inachus* of Sophocles, wherein the poet makes them contemporary with that prince. (Dion. Hal. I. 25.^k)

I have dwelt at greater length on this part of the inquiry, because it was of consequence to the main question; and I am not aware that it has ever been considered in this light before. I must now hasten to the historical evidence, which establishes the fact of a migration of these Tyrrheni at a remote period into Italy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, when speaking of the Pelasgi, whom he admits to have colonized that country, has given us to understand, that the identity of the Tyrrheni and Pelasgi was a point maintained by several writers; and though he himself has endeavoured to controvert this notion, I think the only argument which he adduces against

^k The learned are generally agreed in considering the Thracian nations as the progeny of Tiras, the son of Japhet; and I would suggest it to their consideration, whether the same analogies which Bochart has produced (*Phaleg.* III. 2.) in support of this opinion, do not

apply with still greater probability to the Tyrseni, or, as we may suppose the original name of this people to have been pronounced, Tyrasnah. The Ty-ras, Tyragetæ, Agathyrsi, &c. have surely a greater affinity to this name than to that of Threices or Thraces.

it cannot be allowed to have much weight ; since it is founded entirely on a false reading, and consequently a false construction, of a passage in Herodotus. (I. 57.)

That historian, speaking of the Pelasgi of Cresson in Macedonia, observes, that they differed in language from their neighbours ; but Dionysius appears to have thought Crotona in Etruria was meant, and therefore concludes, on very insufficient ground, that the Pelasgi spoke another language than that of the Tyrrheni of Etruria, and consequently were a different people. Dionysius has only acquainted us with the name of one of those many writers from whom he dissented on the point above mentioned ; but it is curious that this is the very author from whom he has taken most of his account of the adventures of the Pelasgi during their residence in Italy, I mean Myrsilus of Lesbos, an ancient historian, of whom little is otherwise known¹, and of whose sources of information no correct estimate can now be formed : but it is evident that Dionysius thought he was to be relied upon, from the large extracts he has made from his history. And from him we learn, that the people who colonized Italy were called Tyrrheni ; that they were the same who built the Pelasgic wall at Athens ; and that the Athenians gave them the nickname of Πελργοί, or storks, on account of their propensity to migrate from their country, which, as we have seen,

¹ If Myrsilus is the same writer who is mentioned by Strabo, (XIII. 610.) he may have flourished about the time of Solon ; but Vossius thinks he is not so ancient. Hist. Græc. III. p. 391.

was originally Thrace, Samothrace, Lemnos, and Imbros. (Dion. Hal. I. 28.) In confirmation of the identity of the Tyrrheni and Pelasgi we have the opinion of the learned and judicious Varro, and Hyginus. (Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 600.) And this hypothesis will acquire, I think, additional proof, by exposing the error and inconsistency of Dionysius's own statement respecting the Tyrrheni.

It is well known that this writer, after expressing his dissent from those who considered them as transplanted into Italy, declares his belief that they were *αὐτόχθονες*, or a race fixed in the country from time immemorial, and whose real name was Rasena, an appellation which they derived from a chief so called. (I. 30.) But it will be seen that in his account of the earliest state of Italy, he has left no place for this indigenous race. The Umbri, Siculi, and Aborigines, whom he supposes to be descendants of the *Ænотri*, occupy the central parts of Italy before the arrival of the Pelasgi. These last having made an alliance with the Aborigines expel the Siculi, and farther occupy a considerable portion of the Umbrian territory. The part of Italy in which these conquests are made is clearly Etruria Proper, the towns taken or founded being Agylla^m or Cære, Alsium, Saturnia, Pisa, and Falerii, in the territory of the Siculi, and Cortona in that of the Umbri; so that it is evident there is no room left for the Rasena of Dionysius, unless we bring them from the north

^m Agylla and Pisa are the towns mentioned by Lycophron as conquered by Tyrrhenus, whom he supposes to be a son of Telephus the Mysian, v. 1359.

of Italy, as Cluverius has supposed ⁿ, or from beyond the Alps, with Freret ^o and Heyne ^p. But as these opinions are directly contrary to the testimony of history, and the latter especially would place Dionysius in contradiction with himself, we cannot avail ourselves of them to solve the difficulty. There is indeed an obscurity in Dionysius's account of the Tyrrheni, which hardly admits of explanation; for he goes on to tell us, that the Pelasgi, after a long series of misfortunes, lost all their possessions in Italy, most of their towns falling into the hands of the Tyrrheni, who were their neighbours; and elsewhere we are informed, in order to account for the skill and practice in naval affairs for which the Pelasgi were distinguished, that they had acquired their experience from their residence among the Tyrrheni. (I. 25.) But whence or how this people obtained their knowledge we are left to guess, since their position is so undetermined; and besides, Dionysius has never told us that the Pelasgi had resided with the Tyrrheni, but with the Aborigines. (I. 21.)

It is therefore pretty evident that Dionysius's system is untenable; his error must be attributed chiefly to his supposition, that the Pelasgi and Tyrrheni were a different people. The name of Rasena, which he gives to the latter, appears to me to be corrupted from that of Tyrseni, or Tyraseni ^q. In fact, both these names were foreign with regard to Italy. That of Rasena was unknown to the Ro-

ⁿ Ital. Ant. i. 433.

^o Mem. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 98.

^p Nov. Com. Soc. Gott. t. v.

^q Lanzi, who is of this opinion, has given instances of a similar change in the form of Etruscan words, I. not. p. 189.

mans, which can hardly be conceived, had it been the original name of an indigenous Italian tribe.

Another source of confusion in this part of Dionysius's antiquities, is his notion with respect to the Aborigines, whom he supposes to be the descendants of a pretended colony of Arcadians, afterwards called *Ænotrians*. (I. 13.) All judicious critics and antiquaries seem agreed in rejecting this hypothesis; and that being the case, the Aborigines, who, according to Dionysius's own account, and the concurrent testimony of many ancient writers, (*Scymn. Ch. 218. Dionys. Perieg. 349.*) lived in the same country with the Pelasgi, survived their disasters, and rose on the ruins of their power, must be the Etrusci, or Tusci of the Romans, a branch doubtless either of the Umbrian or Oscan race, if indeed these do not belong to the same primitive Italian stock^r. The analogy which subsists between the forms Tusci, Osci, and Volsci, would furnish a presumption in favour of the indigenous origin of the former; but that point seems abundantly established by the fundamental similarity of language which has been discovered to exist between the Etruscan and the other native dialects of Italy. So far then Dionysius was undoubtedly right, when he saw in the Tuscan nation indications of a people fixed in their country from time immemorial; but it was nevertheless owing to their singular and intimate union with the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, that he was justified in saying that they resembled no other people in customs or language; though strictly speaking the latter part of his

^r This point will be considered in the next section, when we have to speak of the Umbri.

assertion is not correct^s. Having thus far tried to explain the origin of the Tuscan people, it remains for us to see how far their improved civilization and political superiority can be traced to the settlements formed by the Tyrrhenians amongst them.

But as it will be naturally asked how we are to suppose that this people arrived in Italy, and at what period, I feel it necessary first of all to say a few words respecting that part of their history. The easiest and most obvious way by which the Tyrrheni, coming from Thrace and the north of Greece, may be supposed to have reached Italy, would be by the *Danube*, and then by the *Save* up to the Julian Alps and the head of the Adriatic. It is on this sea, doubtless, that history, however faint in its records of these transactions, places their first settlements, whether they reached it by land or in a fleet. Dionysius, on the authority of Hellanicus, says, that they arrived by sea at the mouth of the Spinetic branch of the *Po*^t. (I. 18.) But Freret is of opinion, that the Pelasgi reached Italy by land^u; this is a point however I would by no means insist upon: they were unquestionably a maritime people; and their first settlements, Hadria, Spina, and Ravenna, were sea-port towns. If we follow the plain thread of history, divested of the romantic circumstances which Dionysius has interwoven in his narrative of the transactions of the Pelasgi with the Aborigines, it will appear that the former gradually advanced from

^s Lanzi, vol. ii. 129.

^t See p. 98.

^u Might not these be the Argonauts, who, having sailed up

the Danube, and carried their ships over the Alps, launched them again in the Adriatic? See p. 134.

the *Po* into the country of the Umbri, who, being then at war with the Siculi, gladly received their assistance, and after the expulsion of the enemy, gave them settlements and lands in the newly acquired territory, which was Etruria Proper. In the history of these events I adhere chiefly to the authority of Philistus, the Sicilian historian, who makes the Siculi of Ligurian origin; and states, that the people who expelled them were the Umbri and Pelasgi, that being the most rational and intelligible account of this very early revolution^x. According to the same historian, the migration of the Siculi took place about eighty years before the siege of Troy, which agrees nearly with the date assigned to the same event by Hellanicus. (Dion. Hal. I. 22.) So that we shall not be very far from the mark, in assigning the date of about one hundred years before the Trojan war to the settlement of the Tyrrheni Pelasgi in Etruria.

Here then they founded, with the assistance of the natives, their first twelve cities^y; and if we conceive this people bringing with them all the improvements in war, navigation, and general civilization, which Greece was then beginning to derive from her proximity to the east and to Egypt, into a country only inhabited, and that partially, by rude and savage clans, we shall easily form an idea of the great

^x This account is perfectly consistent with those of Antiochus and Thucydides, who represent the Siculi as expelled by the Opici and Ænotri; for the Siculi having once received an impulse, might be driven south afterwards by the other native tribes of Italy. Cf. Dion.

Hal. I. 22.

^y This number of cities appears characteristic of the Pelasgi. It was adopted by the Pelasgi Ægialees in Achaia, and was by them transmitted to the Ionians of Asia Minor, (Herod. I. 146.) see also Potter, Archæol. i. 16.

and rapid influence which they would exercise over the moral and political state of Italy. We must suppose them to have been joined from time to time by numerous bands of Pelasgi, adventurers like themselves, as Ephorus represented them, (ap. Strab. V. 221.) who would flock from different parts of Greece to any country where renown and profit were to be acquired. The Tyrrhenian pirates, who had hitherto infested the Ægean, would naturally retire, when that sea was protected by the navy of Minos, to the seas of Italy², to exercise there the habits which they had acquired from the Phœnicians, and which remained so long a characteristic of their nation. We learn from Strabo, that the Greeks did not venture to send colonies into Sicily till long after the fall of Troy, owing to the dread inspired by those formidable depredators. (I. 267.) From the traditions preserved by Lycophron, it would appear that they formed settlements on almost every part of the coast washed by the Tyrrhenian sea. Their colonies in Campania and in Lucania, where Pæstum is supposed to have been first founded by them, as well as others on the shores of the Adriatic, also sufficiently attest their busy and enterprizing spirit. They seem in fact to have spread themselves over all Italy, and in that sense we may perhaps take the assertion of Livy to be true, that the Tuscan name had reached every part of the peninsula and its seas before the arrival of Æneas. (I. 2. Cf. V. 33. Serv. ad Æn. XI. 567.) But it was in Etruria, properly so called, that the Tyrrheni laid the first foundation of this

² In this manner I would explain those traditions which represent Tyrrhenus as sailing to

Italy. Anticlid. ap. Strab. v. 221. Vell. Pater. i. 2.

power, and established under Tarchon their leader a confederacy of twelve civies. (Strab. V. 219.) The arguments by which Cluverius has laboured to prove that the first principality of the Etruscans was established in the plains of the *Po*^a, appear to me to be weak, and only grounded on certain doubtful expressions of Virgil and Pliny, relative to the antiquity and precedence of Mantua and Felsina; but these cannot outweigh the formal testimony of Livy, who positively states that twelve states were first founded in Tuscany, and afterwards twelve others north of the Apennines^b. (V. 33. Cf. Diod. Sic. XIV. 113.)

The information which Strabo likewise supplies on this head is curious and important. He represents the Tuscans as being perpetually engaged in hostilities with the Umbri, from whom they were only separated by the Tiber; and we are led to infer, that the advantage rested decidedly with the former people, since he goes on to state that they gradually extended the confines of their territory, and finally possessed themselves of the plains watered by the *Po*. (V. 216.) It is to this acquisition of dominion that Pliny probably refers, when he reports that the Tuscans wrested no less than three hundred cities from their Umbrian antagonists. (III. 14.) In the prosecution of their successful career, the Tuscans having arrived on the shores of the Adriatic, obtained possession also of the original Tyrrhenian settlements of Hadria and Spina, which the Tyr-

^a Ital. Ant. t. i. p. 431.

^b The Tyrrheni, and not the Tuscans, were the first to form settlements on the shores of the Adriatic. Steph. Byz. states,

that the name of Tyrrhenia was specifically applied to the country which lay near that sea. v. *Τυρρηνία*.

rheni, being too weak to defend them, abandoned, as Strabo relates, to the invaders, while Ravenna fell into the hands of the Umbri. (V. 214.)

The numerous discoveries of national monuments which have been made in Etruria confirm the fact I am insisting upon, and point out that part of Italy as the original seat and abode of the Etruscans; while very few remains of this kind have been discovered in *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*. It is in Etruria that we can best trace the influence of the Tyrrhenian colony, in changing the habits and improving the condition of its natives. It is to the Tyrrheni that I would ascribe that mixture of the religions of Greece and Italy which is known to have obtained in the Etruscan rites. Thus, with the deities peculiar to the country, such as Voltumna, Norcia, and the Dii Consentes, we find they worshipped Aplu, or the Pelasgic Apollo, Thurms, or Hermes, Juno, Minerva, and other divinities common to the Greeks^c. Of the influence of the Pelasgi on the language of Italy there seems no question, the fact being admitted by ancient as well as modern writers. I am inclined to think that the Tyrrheni introduced the Pelasgic characters in Etruria and Umbria, and likewise communicated them to the Oscans, whose characters are somewhat more rude and uncouth. Tacitus however seems to say, that letters were brought by Damaratus of Corinth, (Ann. II. 14.) but Gori and Lanzi think, and it seems more natural so to interpret Tacitus, that Damaratus only improved the Etruscan alphabet by the addition of some letters^d.

^c Micali, vol. ii. c. 22. Lanzi, i. p. 249.

^d Lanzi, i. p. 191.

I must leave it to philologists to examine the causes which operated differently in forming the dialects of Etruria and Latium. But it seems that the difference which at first might not be considerable, gradually increased from the various elements which the latter received into its composition, while the former remained uncultivated and stationary. In proof of this it may be noticed, that the Etruscans retained the ancient mode of writing from right to left; while the Latins, together with new characters, adopted that arrangement which has since generally prevailed.

These are the principal points in which the effects of the Tyrrhenian colony are visible in improving and civilizing Etruria. With respect to particular customs, we are too little acquainted with the history of that country to distinguish what was indigenous; and what borrowed^e: but it seems sufficient to know that they infused a spirit of enterprise and conquest in the nation into which they had been adopted; a spirit which long prevailed and increased after the original Tyrrheni had removed or disappeared, as they are said to have done towards the period of the Trojan war^f. (Dion. Hal. I. 26.) Commerce, and the cultivation of the fine arts, for which this inventive people appear to have had a natural turn, would add to their refinement, and

^e I am inclined to ascribe to the Pelasgi many of those peculiarities which have been noticed before as common to the Tuscans and some tribes of Asia Minor, with which the former were also intermixed.

^f This seems to apply more

to their other settlements, as the Pelasgi are noticed by ancient writers in Etruria, in times much posterior to those of which Dionysius speaks; and he himself allows that they remained there longer than elsewhere.

complete their superiority over the other comparatively barbarous tribes of Italy; circumstances which will account for their having been distinguished by the Greeks, from the days of Hesiod^g to those of Thucydides^h and Aristotleⁱ, when Rome was unknown, or was thought to be a Tyrrhenian city^k. (Dion. Hal. I. 29.) Whether it was really so may be a matter of speculation, in which it will not be forgotten how much she borrowed from Etruria in the formation of her religious and political institutions, and in the detail of her civil and military economy^l. (Dion. Hal. III. 60. Liv. I. 8. Strab. V. 219.)

Had the Tuscans formed a regular and effective plan for securing their conquests and strengthening their confederacies, they would have been the masters of Italy, and perhaps of the world, instead of the Romans. But their enterprises, after a certain period, seem to have been desultory, and their measures ill combined and ineffectual. A fatal want of internal union which prevailed amongst their states, as Strabo judiciously observes, (V. 219.) rendered them an easy conquest to their Gallic invaders in the north of Italy, and to the hardy Samnites in Campania; while Rome was aiming at the very

^g The earliest record of the Tyrrhenians in Italy is met with in this ancient poet; he supposes Latinus and Agrius, sons of Circe, to have been their kings.

Πᾶσιν Τυρρηνοῖσιν ἀγακλυτοῖσιν ἄνασσον.
THEOGON. 1015.

^h The Tyrrhenians assisted the Athenians in their Sicilian expedition, and distinguished

themselves on one occasion. Thuc. vii. 53.

ⁱ Aristotle and Theophrastus are said to have written on the Tyrrhenian laws. Athen. i.

^k The first Greek writer who mentions Rome is Scylax. Per. Ed. Huds.

^l Micali, vol. ii. c. 25. and vol. iii. c. 2.

centre of their power and existence those persevering and systematic attacks, which with her were never known to fail. The history of the Tuscans subsequently to the foundation of Rome is to be gleaned from Livy, and, at intervals, from short detached notices in the Greek historians and poets; but a rich field is left open to the antiquary, who would illustrate the annals of this interesting people from the monuments that are daily discovered in their country, which seems destined to be the seat of the arts and of good taste through a perpetuity of ages. If the books of Aristotle and Theophrastus on the civil institutions of the Tyrrheni, or even the history of the emperor Claudius, (Suet. Claud. 42.) had been preserved to us, we should doubtless have been better acquainted with the causes of that ascendancy which they are said to have once exercised over the whole of Italy^m.

Etruria, considered as a Roman province, was separated from Liguria by the river Macra; from Cisalpine Gaul and Umbria, to the north and north-east, by the Apennines; from Umbria again, from the Sabines, and Latium, by the Tiber to the south-east and south. (Strab. V. 218.)

Luna.

Beginning from the Macra, the first place we meet with on the coast of Etruria is Luna, celebrated for its beautiful and capacious harbour, now *Golfo di Spezzia*, as early as the days of Ennius.

Lunai portum est operæ cognoscere cives.

AP. PERS. SAT. VI. 9.

^m On the subject of Etruscan antiquities the reader may consult Dempster's *Etruria Regalis*, with the Supplement of

Passeri; Heyne, *Etrusca Antiq.* &c. Nov. Soc. Gott. 1766. p. 17. Gori's *Museum Etruscum*, and Micali *l'Italia*, &c. vol. ii.

And Sil. Ital. (VIII. 482.)

Tunc quos a niveis exegit Luna metallis,
Insignis portu ; quo non spatiosior alter
Innumeras cepisse rates, et claudere pontum.

Advehimur celeri candentia mœnia lapsu,
Nominis est auctor sole corusca soror.

Indigenis superat candentia lilia saxis,
Et levi radiat picta nitore silex.

Dives marmoribus tellus ; quæ luce coloris
Provocat intactas luxuriosa nives.

RUTIL. ITIN. II. 63.

Before the new division under Augustus, Luna had formed part of Liguria ; and as its harbour, situated on the north side of the Macra, certainly was in that province, Cluverius contended that this ancient city occupied the site of the modern *Lerici* ; especially as Strabo (V. 222.) and Mela (II. 4.) seem to place it on that bank of the Macra : but the ruins which now bear the name of *Luni*, a little below *Sarzana*, and the denomination of *Lunigiana* applied to the adjacent district, together with the authority of Ptolemy (p. 61.) and Pliny, (III. 5.) leave no doubt as to the true position of Luna ⁿ.

We find that the harbour of Luna was chiefly re-^{Lunæ Portus.}sorted to by the Romans, as a rendezvous for the fleets which they sent to Spain. (Liv. XXXIV. 8. and XXXIX. 21.) Strabo says, it contained, in fact, several ports, and was worthy of a nation which so

ⁿ The ruins of Luna were visited by Ciriacus, bishop of Ancona, towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Holsten. not. ad Cluv. p. 25. See also D'Anville, Anal. Geog. p. 48.

Oderigo. Let. Ligust. iii. p. 22.; and more particularly Targioni Topogr. fis. dell. Lunigiana, part ii. sect. 3. and Rel. d'alcun. viaggi, t. x. 408.

long ruled the sea °. The town itself was insignificant in his time. (V. 222.) Lucan even speaks of it as being deserted. (I. 586.)

Arruns incoluit desertæ mœnia Lunæ P.

It was also very famous for its white marbles, which now take their name from the neighbouring town of *Carrara*. (Strab. loc. cit. Plin. XXXVI. 5. and 6.)

Anne metalliferæ repetit jam mœnia Lunæ,
Tyrrenasque domos? STAT. SILV. IV. 4.

Lunaque portandis tantum suffecta columnis.

ID. IV. 2.

Pliny speaks of the wine and cheese made in the neighbourhood of Luna, (XIV. 6.) the latter were sometimes so large as to weigh one thousand pounds. (XI. 42. and Martial XIII. Ep. 27.)

Caseus Etruscæ signatus imagine Lunæ,
Præstabit pueris prandia mille tuis.

Inscriptions give Luna the title of a Roman municipium °. The Greeks called it Σελήνης πόλις. (Strab. loc. cit. Steph. Byz.)

Lunæ promontorium.

Aventia fl.
Vesidia fl.

The promontory to which it gave its name is now *Capo Corvo*. Two little rivers, named in the Table *Aventia* and *Vesidia*, are the *Lavenza* and *Verisiglia*. A little beyond the latter, *Pietra Santa*

° The coins of Luna are scarce; they bear the name of the city in Etruscan characters, and display the usual emblems of a maritime city. Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 72. Dempster places it among the twelve cities, but

most antiquaries exclude it from that rank.

° The MSS. as Oudendorp assures us, read *Lucæ*; but I think *Lunæ* right.

° Lanzi loc. cit.

is supposed to occupy the site of *Lucus Feroniæ*, ^{Lucus Feroniæ.} a place which at first seems to have been sacred only to the worship of *Feronia*, a goddess held in great veneration throughout Italy, but afterwards it was raised to the dignity and size of a colonial town. (Plin. III. 5.) The *Fossæ Papirianæ* of Ptolemy ^{Fossæ Papirianæ.} (p. 61.) are supposed, with considerable probability, by Cluverius, to be now *Viareggio*. *Bondelia* and ^{Bondelia.} *Herculis Fanum*, noticed also by the same ancient ^{Herculis Fanum.} geographer, may be placed at *Pedona* and *Mazzarosa*. The former site is also mentioned in the *Alimentary Table of Veleia* ^r.

Farther inland and on the *Serchio*, anciently the ^{Luca.} *Ausar*, *Luca* still preserves its situation and name. It is mentioned for the first time by Livy, as the place to which Tib. Gracchus retired after the unfortunate campaign on the *Trebia*. (Liv. XXI. 59.) The same writer states it to have been colonized 575. A. U. C. (XLI. 13. Vell. Pater. I. 15.) It was also a municipal town. (Cic. Ep. Fam. XIII. 13. Fest. v. Municip.) Cæsar frequently made *Luca* his headquarters during his command in the two Gauls. (Cic. Ep. Fam. I. 9. Suet. Cæs. 24. Plut. Pomp. et Cæs.) It is also mentioned by Strabo. (V. 217. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 61. Front. Strat. III. 2.)

Verrucola, a fortress situated near the source of ^{Viracelum.} the *Serchio*, is thought to be the *Viracelum* of Ptolemy.

Pisæ, or *Pisa*, as it is sometimes written ^s, retains ^{Pisæ.}

^r Muratori Spozione della Tavola Alimentaria, &c.

^s Ought we not to restore to Pisa the coins which have the

epigraph PEITHESA in retrograde Etruscan characters? If we suppose this name to be pronounced Pithsa, it will not

Ausar fl.
Arnus fl.

its site and name as a modern city of great celebrity. We learn from Strabo, (V. 222.) that formerly it stood at the junction of the Ausar and Arnus, the *Serchio* and *Arno*, but now they both flow into the sea by separate channels. Some indication of the junction of these rivers seems preserved by the name of *Osari*, attached to a little stream or ditch which lies between them.

The origin of Pisa is lost amidst the fables to which the Trojan war gave rise, and which are common to so many Italian cities. If we are to believe a tradition recorded by Strabo, (V. 222.) it owed its foundation to some of the followers of Nestor, in their wanderings after the fall of Troy. The poets have not failed to adopt this idea.

Hos parere jubent Alpheæ ab origine Pisæ:
Urbs Etrusca solo. VIRG. ÆN. X. 179.

. Nec Alpheæ capiunt navalia Pisæ.
CLAUD. BELL. GILD.

Alpheæ veterem contemplor originis urbem,
Quam cingunt geminis Arnus et Auser aquis.
Conum pyramidis coeuntia flumina ducunt,
Intratur modico frons patefacta solo.
Sed proprium retinet communi in gurgite nomen,
Et pontum solus scilicet Arnus adit,
Ante diu quam Trojugenas fortuna penates
Laurentinorum regibus insereret.
Elide deductas suscepit Etruria Pisas,
Nominis indicio testificata genus.

RUTIL. ITIN. I. 565.

be far from that of Πίσσα, used by Lycophron. (v. 1241.) Sestini ascribes these coins to Pitinum, a town of Umbria. Classes

Gen. seu Monet. Vet. p. 11. Others to Perugia. See Lanzi, t. iii. p. 27. and 76. Mionnet. Med. Ant. t. i. p. 100.

(Cf. Plin. III. 5.) Lycophron says it was taken by Tyrrhenus from the Ligurians. (v. 1241.) Servius reports, that Cato had not been able to discover who occupied Pisa before the Tyrrheni under Tarcho, with the exception of the Teutones. From which account it might be inferred, that the most ancient possessors of Pisa were of Celtic origin. (Ad Æn X. 179) Dionysius of Halicarnassus names it among the towns occupied by the Pelasgi in the territory of the Siculi.

The earliest mention we have of this city in the Roman history is in Polybius, (II. 16. and 27.) from whom we collect, as well as from Livy, (XXI. 39.) that its harbour was much frequented by the Romans in their communication with Sardinia, Gaul, and Spain. It was here that Scipio landed his army when returning from the mouths of the Rhone to oppose Hannibal in Italy. It became a colony 572 A. U. C. (Liv. XLI. 43.)

Strabo speaks of it as having been formerly an important naval station: in his day it was still a very flourishing commercial town, from the supplies of timber which it furnished to the fleets, and the costly marbles which the neighbouring quarries afforded for the splendid palaces and villas, of Rome. (Cf. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 64.) Its territory produced wine, and the species of wheat called siligo. (Plin. XIV. 3. and XVIII. 9.)

The Portus Pisanus was at the mouth of the *Arno*. It is thus described by Rutilius. Portus Pisanus.

Contiguum stupui portum ; quem fama frequentat
 Pisarum emporio, divitiisque maris.
 Mira loci facies : pelago pulsatur aperto,
 Inque omnes ventos litora nuda patent.

Nam nullus tegitur per brachia tuta recessus,
 Æolias possit qui prohibere minas.
 Sed procera suo prætexitur alga profundo,
 Molliter offensæ non nocitura rati.
 Et tamen insanas cedendo interligat undas,
 Nec sinit ex alto grande volumen agi.

ITIN. I. 531.

Hinc Tyrrhena vado frangentes æquora Pisæ.

LUCAN. II. 401.

Aquæ Pi-
 sanæ.

About three miles from Pisa towards *Lucca* are some hot springs, noticed by Pliny as the Aquæ Pisanæ, (II. 103.) now *Bagni di Pisa*.

Pistoria.

North-east of Luca, and at the foot of the Apennines, we find Pistorium, (Plin. III. 5.) or Pistoria, (Ptol. p. 64.) now *Pistoia*. This town is memorable in the history of Rome, as having witnessed in its vicinity the close of Catiline's desperate, but short career. It will be seen, by the account of Sallust, that Catiline had at first resolved upon making Etruria the seat of war, and accordingly had assembled his forces at Fæsulæ, of which place he was master. But being baffled in his designs on Rome by the vigilance of Cicero and the senate, he determined to withdraw into Cisalpine Gaul: with this view he collected his troops at Pistoria, in order to cross the Apennines by secret and unfrequented defiles. Defeated in this attempt also by the activity and diligence of Metellus, who commanded in Picenum, and had moved forward from Ariminum to oppose his descent on the other side of the mountains, Catiline was compelled to face the consul Antonius, who was pursuing him, and to give battle. The spot on which the action was fought is too imper-

fectly marked by the concise narrative of the historian (c. 62.) to be now recognised. We may conjecture that it was to the north of *Pistoia*, and near the modern road from that place to *Modena* ^t.

About twenty-five miles from Pistoria, in a south-east direction, we find Fæsulæ, or Fæsula—

Fæsulæ.

Adfuit et sacris interpres fulminis alis

Fæsula

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 478.

a considerable town of Etruria, the ruins and name of which are preserved in the well-known hill and village of *Fiesole*. It is noticed for the first time in history by Polybius, (II. 25.) in his account of the early wars between the Gauls and Romans ^u. Mention of it occurs again in the same historian, (III. 82.) where he describes Hannibal's march from Cisalpine Gaul into Etruria by the marshes. As this is a point of history which is closely connected with the ancient topography of Italy, and from its difficulty has puzzled able critics and commentators, it may not be amiss to digress a while from the object immediately before us, and bestow some attention on this particular question. Its difficulty seems to have arisen from the real or apparent discrepancy between the two historians who have given us an account of the second Punic war, Polybius and Livy. I have elsewhere endeavoured to shew how much more the authority of the Greek historian was to be relied upon in every thing that relates to the campaigns of Hannibal: and this opinion will, I think, derive considerable

^t See *Ceni delle montagne Pistoiese*. vert to the event alluded to in another place.

^u I shall have occasion to re-

confirmation from the examination of the point about to be submitted to the judgment of the reader.

Were we to follow Polybius only in his narrative of these transactions, it would be impossible to err ; for though certainly concise, he is yet perfectly clear and consistent. The whole obscurity arises from the text of Livy, as it stands at present ; who, by placing the marshes Hannibal is said to have crossed, in the vale of the *Arno*, has given to this event a locality totally different from that which is presented to the view by the text of Polybius.

Let us first see the account given by the latter writer. It will be remembered, that after their defeat on the Trebia, the Romans abandoned the whole of Cisalpine Gaul, except Placentia and Cremona ; and thought only of defending the passages which led to the central parts of Italy and the capital. For this purpose Servilius, one of the consuls, was posted at Ariminum to oppose the progress of the enemy by the shores of the Adriatic and through Umbria. Tib. Gracchus withdrew to Luca, to defend the roads which led from Liguria along the Etrurian coast ; while Flaminius, the other consul, was encamped at Arretium with the main army, and thus guarded the principal pass of the Apennines.

It became Hannibal's object to frustrate this judicious plan of defence ; and it was evident that he could only attain it by penetrating into Etruria by a passage which the Romans had not thought of guarding. " Having accurately informed himself respecting the roads which led into that province, " he determined," says the historian, " instead of " proceeding by the longer and more commodious " route, to adopt that which lay through the marshes,

“ as being shorter, though difficult.” From this description it is evidently seen, that Hannibal, who was still on the Trebia, had to traverse these marshes before he could enter into Etruria. And if we examine the nature of the country between the Apennines and the right bank of the *Po*, we shall find that, intersected by numerous streams, such as the *Trebbia*, *Taro*, *Panaro*, and many others, it must have been constantly subject to inundations, and consequently of a swampy and marshy nature ; particularly nearer the foot of the mountains, where the fall not being sufficient to drain off the waters, they would necessarily stagnate and produce bogs and quagmires. This has been precisely the case in the Pontine marshes ; and that this was the state of the plains at the foot of the north slope of the Apennines is sufficiently proved by the testimony of Strabo, who tells us, (V. 217.) that this country was very marshy till the consul Æmilius Scaurus had drained it, by making a cut from Placentia to Parma : but Strabo tells us much more ; for he says, that these were the very marshes which Hannibal crossed with such difficulty on his way to Etruria. (V. 217.) The existence of these marshes in Cisalpine Gaul being thus proved, it will be necessary to examine next in what direction Hannibal crossed them, in order to penetrate into Etruria. If we draw a straight line from the neighbourhood of Placentia, where he was encamped, to Fæsulæ, the first point which he reached in the last mentioned province, according to Polybius, we shall see that his route would lie in an oblique direction towards the foot of the Apennines, and across all those streams which descend from that chain into the *Po*, and

whose inundation so much impeded his passage. This would bring him precisely to that part of the Apennines which lies north of *Pistoia* and *Prato*, and actually on the road to *Fæsulæ*. As soon as he had emerged from the swamps, says Polybius, he ascertained with his usual foresight and sagacity the exact position of the enemy ; and having learnt that Flaminius was at Arretium, he boldly crossed the mountainous passes, and entered the plains of Etruria in the vicinity of *Fæsulæ* ; thus having the Roman consul on his left, a relative situation which all accounts agree in giving to the two armies.

I am confirmed in assigning this defile of the Apennines as the route pursued by Hannibal on this occasion, by the testimony of Cornelius Nepos, who evidently places the difficulties he encountered in the early part of his march. (Vit. Hann. 4.) Appian also remarks, that it was a pass unknown to the Romans. (Hann. 9.) And it has been mentioned that Catiline endeavoured to make his escape into Gaul in that direction. Lastly, I may add, that this is now a well frequented road between *Florence* and *Modena*, and considerably shorter than that by *Bologna*.

If we now turn to the Roman historian's account, we find that he agrees almost word for word with Polybius, except in one particular, which it must be allowed however is a most important one. "Hannibal," as he relates, (XXII. 2.) "having heard that Flaminius was already at Arretium, moved from his winter quarters," that is, from the neighbourhood of *Placentia* *. "And though a longer

* In the former book Livy leaves him in Liguria ; probably on the borders of that province, and still on the line

“ but more convenient route had been pointed out
 “ to him, he chose a nearer road, by a marsh where
 “ the river Arnus had overflowed during those days
 “ more than usual.”

The mention of the *Arno* here gives a totally different aspect to the event we have just seen related by Polybius ; and if we are to follow the Roman historian, we must necessarily place the marshes in the valley of that river. But in what part of its course shall we look for them ? To say nothing of this sudden leap, by which Hannibal is brought from the *Trebbia* to the *Arno*, it may be asked, where is the short road by which he is to reach that river ? Commentators and topographers are not a little perplexed to reconcile these circumstances. Cluverius ^y insists on the existence of the marshes near the present situation of *Florence*. Holstenius ^z places them in the upper valley of the *Arno*, while Folard ^a discovers them in the *Val di Chiana*, near Clusium.

Lastly, General F. Guil. de Vaudoncourt ^b, whose work I have had occasion to cite before, conceives Hannibal to have crossed the Apennines by the road which leads from Parma to *Pontremoli* and *Sarzana* ; and he supposes the marshes to be those now called *Paludi di Fuccechio*, a little above the entrance of the *Arno* into the sea ; and this opinion is certainly the most plausible of all those which have been advanced by the advocates of Livy. But it may be observed, first, that the marshes of *Fuccechio* cannot be of that extent which the description of the two his-

of the Trebia, his magazines
 being at Clastidium.

^y Ital. Ant. I. p. 580.

^z Not. ad Cluv. p. 73.

^a Comment. de Polybe, t. iv.
 p. 162.

^b Hist. des Camp d'Anni-
 bal, vol. i. p. 136. and note 2.

torians would lead us to suppose. Secondly, that there could be no necessity for Hannibal's marching in that line, especially as he wished to take the shortest road. Lastly, the Romans being in possession of Luca, and in force there, could not have been ignorant of his movements, had he attempted to penetrate into Etruria in that direction.

The result of this discussion seems to be, that the narrative of Polybius, besides being supported by the positive authority of Strabo, is perfectly clear and intelligible ; while that of the Roman historian is irreconcilable with reason and common sense, and converts one of the boldest and most masterly manœuvres, which the art of war ever saw executed, into a movement without purpose or meaning. So that unless we can discover any means of removing the difficulty which his text presents, his authority must, on this point at least, be entirely set aside. On comparing however the MSS. of Livy on the above passage, it will be seen that they display a certain degree of diversity, especially with regard to the word Arnus. In the oldest Vatican MS. this passage is wanting ; another reads Ar ; another has a mark under the last syllable of the word Arnus ; others have only Fluvius. I would propose therefore to adopt the latter reading, in which the word Fluvius, by itself, would mean the *Po* ; to which river Strabo seems to ascribe in great measure the inundation spoken of. Or, if it be insisted that the name of the river is expressed, for Arnus I would suggest reading Tarus ; by which trifling alteration the whole difficulty would be removed, and Polybius and Livy reconciled ; a circumstance which in any other way I am inclined to regard as impossible.

The *Taro* is the most considerable of the streams that descend from the Apennines into the plains, which I suppose Hannibal to have crossed, and is the most formidable at this day from its inundations in the spring^c.

We find Fæsulæ subsequently mentioned as one of those colonies which Sylla established to reward his adherents, (Cic. Cat. Orat. II. 9. Appian. Civ. Bell.) and we know that Catiline made it the chief hold of his party in Etruria. (Bell. Cat. 31.) It was still a flourishing city in the time of Pliny^d. (III. 5. and VII. 13. and Ptolemy, p. 64.)

Florentia, now *Firenze*, a town so celebrated as Florentia. the capital of modern Tuscany, has no pretensions to a foundation of great antiquity, as we find no mention made of it before the time of Cæsar, by whom Frontinus says it was colonized; unless we think with Cluverius^e, that the town called Fluentia by Florus, (I. 2.) and mentioned with many other distinguished cities, as having severely suffered in the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, might be identified with it. However that may be, we find distinct mention made of Florentia in the reign of Tiberius; when, as Tacitus informs us, the inhabitants of that city petitioned that the waters of the Clanis, a river which was very injurious from its perpetual

^c In the above inquiry I must confess myself indebted to some judicious remarks in a dissertation on the same subject by Lorenzo Guazzesi, a learned Italian antiquary; printed in the Mem. dell Acad. di Cortona, t. vi. p. 25.

^d Hitherto no coins of this

Etruscan city have been discovered; those which were ascribed to it have been restored by Sestini to *Talamone*. Lett. Num. t. iii. l. For a plan of the ancient Fæsulæ, and a specimen of its walls, see the plates to Micali's work, Tav. v. and xi.

^e Ital. Ant. I. 508.

inundations, might not be carried off into the *Arno* (Ann. I. 79. Cf. Plin. III. 5. Agath. lib. I.)

Magelli. The place called Mugialla by Procopius, (Bell. Got. III.) probably a corruption of Magelli, a people of Ligurian origin^f, preserves its name in that of *Val di Mugello*, north-east of Florence. Returning to the sea, the first place which presents itself beyond the mouth of the *Arno* is the Portus Herculis Liburni, or, as it is called by Cicero, (ad Quinct. Fratr. II. 6.) Labronis, (Cf. Zosim. Annal. V.) now *Livorno*, or *Leghorn*.

Portus
Herculis
Liburni.

Vada Vo-
laterrana.

About eighteen miles farther we come to another harbour, named Vada Volaterrana, from the neighbouring city of Volaterræ; it is still known by the name of *Vada*. This place is mentioned by Cicero (pro P. Quinct. 6. Plin. III. 5.) and Rutilius.

In Volaterranum vero Vada nomine tractum
Ingressus, dubii tramitis alta lego.

ITIN. I. 453.

Cæcina fl.
et portus.

The harbour itself, I conceive, was situated at the mouth of the river Cæcina, which still preserves its name; (Plin. III. 5. Mel. II. 4.) the latter geographer indeed seems to mention it as a town.

Volaterræ.

Nearly fifteen miles inland, and on the right bank of the same river, stood the ancient city of Volaterræ, now *Volterra*. Its Etruscan name, as it appears on numerous coins, was Velathri^g. Even if

^f D'Anville, Geogr. Anc. p. 51.

^g Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 95. The affinity which subsists between this name and that of Hatri, or Hadria, inclines me to think that *Volterra* was founded by the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, on quit-

ting the Adriatic to fix themselves in the territory of the Umbri. On the antiquities of this city, see Dempster de Etr. Reg. t. ii. l. v. 3.; Bava, Dissert. Istor. circa la città di *Volterra*; Giachi Saggio sopra lo stato antico e moderno di *Volterra*.

we had not the express authority of Dion. Hal. (III. 51.) for assigning to *Volterra* a place among the twelve principal cities of ancient Etruria, the extent of its remains, its massive walls, vast sepulchral chambers, and numerous objects of Etruscan art, would alone suffice to shew its antique splendour and importance, and claim for it that rank. From the monuments alone which have been discovered within its walls, and in the immediate vicinity, no small idea is raised of the power, civilization, and taste of the ancient Etruscans. Its walls were formed, as may yet be seen, of huge massive stones, piled on each other without cement; and their circuit, which is still distinctly marked, embraced a circumference of between three and four miles^h. The citadel was built, as Strabo reports, (V. 223.) on a hill, the ascent to which was fifteen stadia; and it is supposed that the Tyrrhenian city, of which Aristotle, or the author de Mirab. (p. 1158.) speaks, under the name of *Ænarea*, as being built on a hill thirty stadia high, is *Volterra*: it need scarcely be observed, that this last measurement ought to be corrected from that given by Strabo.

The first mention of *Volaterræ* in the Roman history occurs in Livy, (X. 12.) where an engagement of no great importance is stated to have taken place near this city, at the close of a war in which the Etruscans were leagued with the Samnites against the Romans, A. U. C. 454. The latter were under the command of L. Corn. Scipio. In the second Punic war, we find *Volaterræ* among the other cities

^h See a plan of the ancient and modern town in the plates to Micali, Tav. i.

of Etruria that were zealous in their offers of naval storesⁱ to the Romans. (Liv. XXVIII. 45.) Many years afterwards, Volaterræ sustained a siege which lasted two years against Sylla; the besieged consisting chiefly of persons whom that dictator had proscribed. On its surrender, Italy is said to have enjoyed peace for the first time after so much bloodshed. (Strab. V. 223. Cic. pro dom.) In one of his letters, Cicero expresses himself in terms of the warmest regard and interest for this city. (Ep. ad Fam. XIII. 4. ad Att. I. 19.) Finally, we hear of Volaterræ as a colony, somewhat prior to the reign of Augustus. (Front. de Col. Cf. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 64. Agath. I.)

Sena Julia. To the east of *Volterra* stands *Sienna*, a modern city of celebrity, which appears to have been anciently called Sena, with the addition of Julia to distinguish it from Sena Gallica in Umbria. This designation implies a colony founded by Julius or Augustus Cæsar. It is mentioned by Tacitus (Hist. IV. 45.) and Pliny (III. 5. Ptol. p. 65.)

Massa Veternensis. Considerably to the south-west of this last place, *Massa Veternensis* (Amm. Marcell. XIV.) has preserved the first part of its name. The adjective *Veternensis* implies the existence of a more ancient town, probably called *Veterna*, from the ruins of which *Massa* may have arisen^k.

Vetulonii. A few miles to the south-west of this place, *Ve-*

ⁱ The coins of *Volterra* have the impression of a dolphin, which numismatical writers agree in considering as emblematical of a maritime power.

^k This supposition is con-

firmed by an Etruscan coin published by Sestini, with the retrograde legend VETAR. *Classes Generales seu Moneta Vetus*, &c. p. 11.

tulonii, one of the most powerful and distinguished of the twelve Etruscan cities, is supposed to have been situated. Its position indeed was long a matter of great uncertainty, and has given rise to much discussion. D'Anville, who examines the subject fully ^k, is inclined to think with Cluverius, that the position marked in the Tabula Theodosiana, by the name of Velinis, is a corruption for Vetuloniis, and would therefore place this ancient town on the coast, though against the authority of Strabo, who expressly states, that Populonium was the only one of the Etruscan cities which was close to the sea. (V. 223. and Plin. III. 5.) Dempster was not able to throw any light on the subject ^l. But a more accurate survey of this tract of country, usually called the *Maremma* of *Sienna*, by an Italian antiquary named Ximenes ^m, has proved the ruins of Vetulonii to exist in a forest still called *Selva di Vetleta*, and in the position which Ptolemy had assigned to that city. The Velinis of the Table, and the ruins called *Vetulia* by Leandro Alberti and Cluverius ⁿ, must belong to the Aquæ Vetuloniæ of Pliny. (II. 103.) ^{Aquæ Vetuloniæ.} If we may believe Silius Italicus, it was Vetulonii that first used the insignia ^o of magistracy common to the Etruscans, and with which Rome afterwards decorated her consuls and dictators.

Mæoniæque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis.

Bissenos hæc prima dedit præcedere fasces,

^k Anal. Geogr. p. 132.

^l Etrur. Reg. 4. 13.

^m Esame su la Maremma Senese, p. 24.

ⁿ Ital. Ant. I. p. 472.

^o The Etruscan name of Ve-

tulonii, as we learn from its coins, was Vetluna: they bear the impression of a wheel and an axe, which are supposed to have a reference to these insignia. Lanzi, v. ii. p. 109.

Et junxit totidem tacito terrore secures :
 Hæc altis eboris decoravit honore curules,
 Et princeps Tyrio vestem prætexuit ostro :
 Hæc eadem pugnas accendere protulit ære.

VIII. 485.

(Cf. Dion. Hal. III. 60.) Vetulonii is ranked among the twelve principal cities by Dion. Hal. (III. 51. Plin. III. 5.) An inscription quoted by Cluverius proves that it was a municipal town under the Romans.

Populo-
nium.

In a line with Vetulonii, and on the coast, was Populonium, once a most flourishing town, and the naval arsenal of the Etruscans. It has been already noticed, that this was the only considerable city which that nation founded immediately on the coast ; in other instances they were prevented from doing this by the want of commodious havens, and through their fear of being exposed to the attacks of pirates. But the harbour of Populonium, now *Porto Baratto*, possessed peculiar advantages ; it was secure, and of great extent, and from its proximity to the island of Elba, so rich in metals, of the highest importance ; as the produce of the mines appears never to have been prepared for use in the island itself, but was always sent over to Populonium for that purpose. (Aristot. de Mirab. p. 1158. Strab. V. 223. Varr. ap. Serv. Æn. X. 174.) In proof of the antiquity of this place it may be observed, that it is mentioned by Virgil in the passage just referred to as one of the Etruscan cities which sent forces to the assistance of Æneas.

Una torvus Abas : huic totum insignibus armis
 Agmen, et aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis.

Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
Expertos belli juvenes.

Strabo has accurately described the site of Populonium^p from personal inspection; he tells us, that it was placed on a lofty cliff that ran out into the sea like a peninsula. On the summit was a tower for watching the approach of the thunny fish. From thence you could see plainly the isle of *Elba*, and even Corsica and Sardinia^q.

We may infer from Livy, that it was still an important city in the time of the second Punic war; (XXVIII. 45. XXX. 39.) but during the civil wars it sustained a siege about the same time with *Volterra*, in which it suffered so much, that nothing but the temples and a few houses were preserved. The arsenal and port at the foot of the promontory, now *Capo di Campana*, (Ptol. p. 64.) presented however a less desolate appearance. (Strab. V. 223. Cf. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5.) Subsequent to the time of these writers, Rutilius in his Itinerary represents the city as entirely deserted.

Proxima securum reserat Populonia litus,
Qua naturalem ducit in arva sinum.
Non illic positas extollit in æthera moles,
Lumine nocturno conspicienda Pharos,
Sed speculam validæ rupis sortita vetustas,
Qua fluctus domitos arduus urget apex.

^p The real name of this city, as we may perceive by its numerous coins, was Pupluna, in which a strong analogy exists with some Etruscan names already noticed, as Luna and Vetluna; and probably others be-

longing to cities which we know only under their Latin name. Lanzi, v. ii. p. 27.

^q See a plan of the ancient town and harbour of Populonium. Micali, Tav. ii. and a specimen of its walls, Tav. x.

Castellum geminos hominum fundavit in usus,
 Præsidium terris, indiciumque fretis.
 Agnoscî nequeunt ævi monimenta prioris;
 Grandia consumpsit mænia tempus edax.
 Sola manent interceptis vestigia muris;
 Ruderibus latis tecta, sepulta jacent.
 Non indignemur, mortalia corpora solvi;
 Cernimus exemplis, oppida posse mori.

I. 401.

The vestiges of this ancient city are to be seen about three miles north of *Piombino*.

A little to the east is a small lake formed by the Lyncens fl. river *Cornia*, supposed by Cluverius to be the Lynceus of Lycophron, v. 1240. This lake, which has a narrow outlet to the sea, is now called *Caldano*, and is described by Rutilius, together with its haven the Portus Faleria, now *Porto Falese*.

Laxatum cohibet vicina Faleria cursum,
 Quanquam vix medium Phœbus haberet iter.
 Et tum forte hilares per compita rustica pagi,
 Mulcebant sacris pectora fessa jocis.
 Illo quippe die tandem renovatus Osiris
 Excitat in fruges germina læta novas.
 Egressi villam petimus, lucoque vagamur;
 Stagna placent septo deliciosa vado.
 Ludere lascivos inter vivaria pisces
 Gurgitis inclusi laxior unda sinit—

I. 371.

Continuing along the coast, we find the little river called *Alma* by the Table, and which still keeps its name. Somewhat beyond is the Portus Trajanus of Ptolemy, now *Torre di Troja*. The Lacus Prelius of Cicero, (pro Mil. 27.) probably the same as the Prilis of Pliny, (III. 5.) is now *Lago di Castiglione*.

Two or three miles to the north-east of this lake, some remarkable ruins, with the name of *Roselle* ^{Rusellæ} attached to them, point out the site of the ancient *Rusellæ*^r, one of the twelve Etruscan cities. (Dion. Hal. III. 51.) It is mentioned more than once by Livy in the course of the wars with Etruria. It was taken by assault in the year 454 U. C. by the consul L. Posth. Megillus. (X. 37.) In the second Punic war, we hear of its furnishing timber, especially fir, for the Roman fleets. (XXVIII. 45.) From Pliny we learn that it subsequently became a colony, (III. 5.) which is confirmed by an inscription cited by Holstenius^s.

A short distance from the lake Prilis brings us to the mouth of the *Ombro*, anciently *Umbro*, one of ^{Umbro fl.} the most considerable rivers of Etruria: it is represented as navigable by Pliny, and its name, as the same writer observes, is indicative of the *Umbri* having once been in possession of Etruria. (III. 5.)

Tangimus Umbronem; non est ignobile flumen,

Quod toto trepidas excipit ore rates;

Tam facilis pronus semper patet alveus undis,

In pontum quoties sæva procella ruit.

RUTIL. ITIN. I. 337.

Beyond this river was the *Portus Telamo*, now ^{Portus Telamo.} *Talamone*, a city of high antiquity, if we are to credit the account of Diod. Sic. (IV.) who attributes its foundation to the Argonauts: but without trusting to this fabulous story, there is no doubt of its having been founded at a very early period, since it

^r Micali gives a plan of *Rusellæ*, and a specimen of its walls, built of huge masses of

uncemented travertino, Tav. iii. and Tav. x.

^s Not. in It. Ant. p. 39.

is mentioned by Timæus, whom Diodorus quotes. It was probably a Pelasgic city ^t.

Telamo is chiefly memorable in the history of Rome, from an important military event which took place in its neighbourhood, and which we find recorded at length in Polybius ^u. (II. c. 25. et seq.) In the interval between the first and second Punic wars, and seven years before the beginning of the latter, that is, 529 U. C. the Cisalpine Gauls, joined by a numerous army of Transalpine barbarians called Gæsataë, made a formidable irruption into Etruria. They baffled the vigilance of the pretor, who was posted at Arretium, by passing the Apennines north of that town; crossing probably from *Bologna* by the *Val di Mugello*. They then advanced to Clusium without meeting with any obstacle, being, on their arrival at that place, only three days march from Rome ^x.

Hearing however that the pretor, apprised of their entrance into Etruria, was hastening to bring them to an engagement, they changed the direction of their march, and moved from the *Val di Chiana*, as if they intended to retreat to Fæsulæ ^y; but in-

^t The coins, with the epigraph TLA and TAL in Etruscan characters, are generally ascribed to Telamo. Sestini Lett. Num. t. iii. 1.

^u This event has been ably illustrated by the learned Guazzesi, whom I before had occasion to commend, in a dissertation, as he terms it, *Sopra alcuni fatti della guerra Gallica Cisalpina seguiti l'anno di Roma 529.* which is commented upon by Gibbon in his Miscellaneous

Works, vol. ii. p. 351.

^x This must be understood of cavalry, for Clusium is 134 miles from Rome according to the Itineraries, and that would be too great a distance in the time allowed by Polybius, being more than 44 miles a day; but perhaps we must consider it as spoken with reference to a common journey, and not to troops marching.

^y The difficulty of this passage consists in the expression

stead of continuing their route to that town, they concealed their forces among the hills of *Sienna*, and lay in wait for the enemy. The pretor, having fallen into the ambuscade, sustained a severe defeat: rallying, however, his scattered troops on a neighbouring hill, he there maintained himself, till he was relieved by the consul Paulus Æmilius, who was stationed with a powerful army at Ariminum; and on hearing of the irruption made by the Gauls, moved rapidly to the support of his countrymen. The Gauls, unable to prevent the junction of the two Roman armies, determined not to hazard a battle, but to endeavour to secure their retreat with the rich booty they had already been able to collect. Cut off, however, from the passes over the Apennines by the Roman army in their front, they had no other resource left but to gain the coast, and proceed by Pisa and Luna through Liguria to their own country. They descended therefore from the hills of *Sienna* into the *Maremma*, and advanced towards the sea, following the course of the *Ombrone*. Meanwhile the other consul, C. Atilius, who was on his return from Sardinia, had landed at Pisa, and was marching with his army along the coast on his way to Rome. Near Telamo he fell in with an advanced party of the Gauls, from whom he learned the state of things. Apprised by this means of the approach of the enemy, he took up

ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν Φαίσολαν, which means, retreating in the direction of Fæsulæ, and not to that city, as Follard has explained it. Cluverius was not able to solve this difficulty, and not understanding Polybius, chose rather to follow Orosius, a writer of no

authority, who places the scene of action near Arretium; mistaking the first and minor engagement, which was fought probably between that town and *Sienna*, for the decisive battle which afterwards took place near the coast. Cluv. Ital. Ant. I. 583.

an advantageous position to intercept their passage, while his colleague, who was close at hand, opposed their retreat. The barbarians being assailed in front and rear, after a desperate conflict, in which the brave Atilius was slain, were finally routed and cut to pieces. This memorable action, though generally known by the name of the battle of Telamo, was not fought precisely in the neighbourhood of that city, but nearer the lake Prilis, on the right bank of the *Ombro*, and not far from the modern town of *Groseto*. This circumstance is established by a curious passage in Frontinus, who mentions that a large detachment of the Gauls was surprised and destroyed by the consul Æmilius during their retreat, near a place called Columna, which is easily recognised in its modern name of *la Colonna*; and which enables us to verify the accuracy of Polybius's account, and to explain in a satisfactory manner the movements of the contending armies. Telamo was doubtless mentioned by that historian as the town of greatest note which occurred on that part of the Tuscan coast. The battle of Telamo was important, for it not only freed the Romans from a most formidable danger, but enabled them for the first time to carry their arms into Cisalpine Gaul, and so effectually repressed the boldness of these barbarians, that they never after ventured to invade the Roman territory, except under the conduct of Hannibal. The other authors who have noticed Telamo are Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. From Plutarch we learn that it was the port where Marius landed from Africa. (Vit. Mar.)

Telamo
prom.
Osa fl.

Ptolemy mentions only the promontory of that name. (p. 61.) A little to the south of it the Osa.

a small stream recorded by the same geographer, and which is still so called, empties itself into the sea. The Albinia of the Table which follows next is *Albinia fl.* a more considerable river, now called *Albegna*. Proceeding still along the coast, we find the important *Cossa.* city of Cossa, or Cossæ, (Ptol. p. 61.) at a little distance from the modern town of *Ansedonia*, which is now itself in ruins ^z. From Pliny (III. 5.) we learn that Cossa ^a was founded by the people of Volci, an Etruscan city, which will be mentioned in the course of this section; and Virgil has named it in the catalogue of the forces sent by Etruria to the aid of Æneas. (X. 167.)

Massicus ærata princeps secat æquora Tigri:
Sub quo mille manus juvenum, qui mœnia Clusi,
Quique urbem liquere Cosas.

Cossa became a Roman colony A. U. C. 480. (Vell. Pater. I. 14. Liv. Epit. XIV.) Subsequently we find the Cossani mentioned in terms of commendation by Livy, (XXVII. 10.) for their fidelity to the Romans during the desperate struggle of the second Punic war. The neighbouring port, which is noticed by ancient writers under the different appellations of

^z For a plan of this ancient city see Micali, (Tav. x.) who gives also a representation of part of its walls built of polygonal stones. According to him, this is the only specimen of this construction to be found in Etruria.

^a It seems probable that there were two other towns of this name in the south of Italy, of

which Cluverius was not aware; the one in Magna Græcia, the other among the Picentini. The coins which Lanzi produces from Eckel, and ascribes to Cossa in Etruria, belong rather to Compsa in Samnium. Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 24. Cf. Romanelli Top. Ant. dell Regno di Napoli, vol. i. p. 240.

Portus
Cossanus
sive Hercu-
culis.

Portus Cossanus and Portus Herculis, has preserved the latter designation under the name of *Porto d'Ercole*. We hear of it frequently in the naval history of Rome, as one of the principal stations for her fleets on the lower sea. (Liv. XXII. 11. and XXX. 39. Cf. Cic. ad Att. IX. 6. and 9. Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 34.) An accurate description of Cossa, its harbour, and promontory, is supplied by Rutilius. (I. 285.)

Cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas,
Et desolatæ mœnia fœda Cosæ.
Ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam
Promere; sed risum dissimulare piget.
Dicuntur cives quondam migrare coacti,
Muribus infestos deseruisse lares.
Credere maluerim Pygmææ damna cohortis,
Et conjuratas in sua bella grues.

Of the port he adds;

Haud procul hinc petitur signatus ab Hercule portus;
Vergentem sequitur mollior aura diem.
Inter castrorum vestigia sermo retexit
Sardoam Lepido præcipitante fugam.
Litore namque Cosæ cognatos depulit hostes,
Virtutem Catuli Roma secuta ducis.

In the latter lines he alludes to the defeat of M. Æmilius Lepidus the consul, who sought to raise disturbances in the state after the death of Sylla, but was checked by his colleague Q. Lutatius Catulus, who defeated him near Cossa, and drove him from thence to seek shelter in Sardinia^b. Rutilius concludes with the description of the double bay

^b See the Supplement to Livy by Freinsh. ed. Crev. l. xc. c. 16.

formed by the peninsula, in the midst of which rises the Mons Argentarius, now commonly called *Monte Argentaro*. (Cf. Tacit. Ann. II. 39.) Mons Argentarius.

Necdum decessis pelago permittimur umbris,

Natus vicino vertice ventus adest.

Tenditur in medias Mons Argentarius undas,

Ancipitique jugo cærulea rura premit.

Transversos colles bis ternis millibus arctat,

Circuitu ponti ter duodena patet.

Qualis per geminos fluctus Ephyreius isthmus

Ionias bimari litore findit aquas.

The extensive bay on the north side of this peninsula, now called *Stagno d'Orbitello*, seems to answer to the *Λιμνοθάλαττη* of Strabo. (V. 223.)

The river now called *Fiore*, which we arrive at Arminia fl. soon after, answers to the Arminia of the Table. About five miles farther, Cluverius places the seat of the Pelasgic king, Malæotus, hence named Regis Regis Villa. Villa. Tradition represented this chief as one of those Pelasgi who returned to Greece and settled in Attica. (Strab. V. 225.) Beyond is the river Marta of the Marta fl. Itineraries, which retains its name unchanged. Near its mouth, and on the site of the *Torre di Corneto*, I would place the ancient town of Graviscaë. Clu-Graviscaë. Cluverius inclines to *Corneto* itself, but that place is too much inland; for it is evident, from the account of Strabo (V. 225.) and the Maritime Itineraries, that Graviscaë was a sea-port. It appears to have been a town of some note^c, and probably served as a harbour to the important city of Tarquinii, situated at some distance from the coast. Graviscaë became a

^c Some coins with the epigraph ΓΡΑ, have been erroneously ascribed to Graviscaë:

they belong to Graia Callipolis, a city of Calabria near Tarentum. Sestini Lett. Numis. t. vi. p. 5.

Roman colony A. U. C. 571. (Liv. XL. 29. Vell. Pat. I. 15.) But the low and marshy situation in which it was built seems to have rendered this town always unhealthy.

..... intempestæque Graviscae.

ÆN. X. 184.

Inde Graviscarum fastigia rara videmus,
Quas premit æstivæ sæpe paludis odor.
Sed nemorosa viret densis vicinia lucis,
Pineaque extremis fluctuat umbra fretis.

RUT. ITIN. I. 279.

Other authors who mention it are Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 61.

Tarquiniî. Somewhat higher up than *Corneto*, on the left bank of the Marta, some ruins, to which the name of *Turchina* is attached, point out the site of Tarquiniî, represented as one of the most powerful cities of Etruria, and celebrated in history for its early connexion with Rome. The foundation of Tarquiniî is ascribed by Strabo (V. 219.) to Tarchon, the famous Etruscan chief, who is so often introduced by the poets.

Ipsè oratores ad me regnique coronam
Cum sceptro misit, mandatque insignia Tarchon,
Succedam castris, Tyrrhenaque regna capessam.

ÆN. VIII. 505.

..... superbi

Tarchontis domus.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 473.

Some have supposed him to be the same with the celebrated Etruscan lawgiver Tages, as similar fabulous circumstances are ascribed to both^d.

^d This word appears evidently a title which the Thessalians, formed from the Greek Ταγῶς, and probably the Pelasgi, gave

Haud aliter stupuit, quam quum Tyrrhenus arator
 Fatalem glebam motis aspexit in arvis,
 Sponte sua primum, nulloque agitante, moveri;
 Sumere mox hominis terræque amittere formam,
 Oraque venturis aperire recentia fati.
 Indigenæ dixere Tagen; qui primus Etruscum
 Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros.

OVID. MET. XV. 553.

(Cf. Cic. de Div. II.)

Justin states, that Tarquinii was founded by some Thessalians and Spinambri, (XX.) meaning doubtless the Pelasgi and Umbri, who came from Spina on the Adriatic; a notion which sufficiently agrees with what I endeavoured to establish respecting the Tyrrhenian colony in the first part of this section. There seems abundant authority for admitting Tarquinii^e among the twelve states of Etruria. Strabo indeed states, that it was from this city that the Romans borrowed all their royal insignia and military pomp during the reign of Tarquin; but this fact is at variance with the admission of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that these and many other Etruscan institutions and customs existed already in the time of Romulus. (III. 61.) The circumstances which placed the first Tarquin on the throne of Rome are too well known to be detailed here. The arrival of Demaratus, father of that prince, from Corinth, in the time of Cypselus, A. U. C. 120, is to be considered as an important event in the history

to their chiefs; and which was given in the first instance to Tarchon: the Etruscans might easily mistake it afterwards for a proper name.

^e The original name was probably Tarcuna. Freret has

imagined, I know not on what authority, that it was at first called Trachina, which the Siculi afterwards changed to Terracina. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 103.

of Etruria, as the subsequent improvements in the fine arts and in the literature of that country are generally ascribed to him^f. It proves also the intercourse which subsisted at that time between Etruria and the maritime states of Greece. (Cf. Dion. Hal. III. 46. Liv. I. 34.) There is one circumstance connected with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, which appears deserving of remark, as it relates to the history of Etruria. It is stated by Dion. Hal. (III. 60.) that this prince, after a long war, compelled the twelve Etruscan states to acknowledge him as their head. I cannot but consider this fact as extremely dubious. If we reflect that Rome many years after was not able to resist the combined forces of Etruria under Porsenna, and that this war with Tarquin is not once mentioned by Livy, we shall be rather inclined to look upon Rome at that time as the dependent or ally of Etruria, rather than the mistress of that powerful state. (Cf. Strab. V. 220.)

Tarquinius was foremost among the cities of Etruria to assist Tarquinius Superbus in reestablishing himself at Rome. (Liv. II. 6.) Its wars with that city, and final subjugation, are related in the seventh book of the same historian.

At a later period it became a colony (Front. de Col.) and municipium. (Cic. pro Cæcina.) From Statius we collect that the territory of Tarquinius was woody —

^f Heyne Mon. Etr. Artis Illustr. Com. Nov. Soc. Gott. 1774. t. v. Lauzi, vol. ii. p. 254. Winckelmann. Hist. du Dessin, t. i. p. 164.

In Micali's work is a view of some curious tombs and subterraneous chambers discovered among the ruins of Tarquinius, Tav. 51.

Rura meus Tyrrhena petit saltusque Tagetis
Crispinus, nec longa mora est, aut avia tellus.

SILV. V. 1.

and from the circumstance of its having furnished sails for the Roman fleet, (Liv. XXVIII. 10.) that it was as productive of flax as it is now ^s. It was in this district that Q. Fulvius Lippinus had formed his parks, which, according to Varro, were so well stocked with wild beasts. (R. Rust. III. 12.)

The sites of Cortuosa and Contenebra, two ob-^{Cortuosa.}
scure towns mentioned by Livy (VI. 4.) as belonging ^{Contenebra.}
to Tarquinii, are quite unknown. Axia, a castle ^{Axia.}
also in the same territory, (Cic. Orat. pro Cæc. and Steph. Byz.) is said to be still called *Castel Asso* ^h.
Returning to the coast, we cross the little river
Minio, now *Mignone*, celebrated by Virgil,

Minio fl.

Qui Cærete domo, qui sunt Minionis in arvis,

ÆN. X. 183.

and Rutilius. (Itin. I. 277.)

Paulisper fugimus litus Minione vadosum,
Suspecto trepidant ostia parva solo.

Centumcellæ, now *Civita Vecchia*, is better known ^{Centumcellæ.}
under the name of Trajani Portus, that emperor having caused a magnificent harbour to be constructed there, which Pliny the Younger has described in one of his Epistles. (VI. 31.)

Two immense piers formed the port, which was semicircular, while an island constructed artificially of immense masses of rock, brought there by vessels, and sunk in the sea, served as a breakwater in

^s Holsten. Adnot. p. 29. ^h Mariani Antich. di Viterbo, p. 36.

front, and supported a pharos. The coast being very destitute of shelter for vessels of burden, this work of Trajan was of great national benefit. It is thus described by Rutilius. (I. 237.)

Ad Centum cellas forti defleximus Austro,
 Tranquilla puppes in statione sedent.
 Molibus æquoreum concluditur amphitheatrum,
 Angustosque aditus insula facta tegit.
 Attollit geminas turres, bifidoque meatu
 Faucibus arctatis pandit utrumque latius.
 Nec posuisse satis laxo navalia portu,
 Ne vaga vel tutas ventilet aura rates :
 Interior medias sinus invitatus in ædes,
 Instabilem fixis aëra nescit aquis.

Centumcellæ having been destroyed by the Saracens, the inhabitants built another town some distance inland, but afterwards they reoccupied the site of the old city ; which from that circumstance obtained its present nameⁱ. The *Aquæ Tauri* of Pliny, (III. 5.) now *Bagni di Ferrata*, are about three miles from *Civita Vecchia* : they are described by Rutilius. (I. 246.)

*Aquæ
Tauri.*

Nosse juvat Tauri dictas de nomine thermas ;
 Nec mora difficilis millibus ire tribus.
 Non illic gustu latices vitiantur amaro,
 Lymphaque fumifero tincta vapore calet.
 Purus odor mollisque sapor dubitare lavantem
 Cogit, qua melius parte petantur aquæ.

*Castrum
Novum.*

Castrum Novum, which follows next on the coast, must not be confounded with the *Castrum Inui* of

ⁱ Holsten. Adnot. p. 32.

Virgil, (*Æn.* VI. 775.) as Rutilius seems to have done. (*I.* 227.)

Stringimus absumptum fluctuque et tempore Castrum ;

Index semirutæ porta vetusta loci.

Præsidet, exigui formatus imagine saxi,

Qui pastoralis nomina fronte gerit.

Multa licet priscum nomen deleverit ætas,

Hoc Inui Castrum fama fuisse putat.

The latter place was certainly in Latium, and near Ardea ; and probably the designation of Novum was added to the Etruscan city to distinguish it from its more ancient namesake. Castrum Novum appears to have been a Roman colony. (*Liv.* XXXVI. 3. Cf. *Mel.* II. 4. *Plin.* III. 5. *Ptol.* p. 61.) Holstenius placed it at *S^{ta}. Marinella^k*, but subsequent discoveries enabled D'Anville to fix its site with more precision at the *Torre di Chiaruccia^l*.

The next place to be noticed on the coast is Pyrgi. Pyrgi, whose name sufficiently attests its Grecian origin, had we not, besides, the authority of Strabo on the subject : he informs us, that this city had a temple erected and dedicated to Lucina by the Pelasgi, which was once much celebrated for its riches, until it was plundered by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. (*V.* 226.) This expedition of Dionysius, which took place soon after the capture of Rome by the Gauls, or about 368. U. C. is related at some length by Diodorus Siculus, who informs us, that Pyrgi was the harbour of the important town of Cære, a fact also mentioned by Strabo. The inhabitants of this last place having come out to repel the in-

^k Adnot. ad Cluv. p. 35.

p. 122. See also Visconti Mu-

^l Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, seo Pio Clementino, t. i. p. 333.

vaders, were defeated by the Sicilians, who returned to Syracuse loaded with spoils, the produce of which exceeded five hundred talents. (Diod. Sic. XV. 14. Cf. Arist. Œcon. II.) We may judge of the luxury of this place from the fact of its courtezans being noted by Lucilius. (ap. Serv. ad Virg. Æn. X. 184.)

Et Pyrgi veteres, intempestæque Graviscae.

We learn from Livy, that it became at some time a Roman colony. (XXXVI. 3. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 61.)

Quæ modo litoreos ibatis carmina Pyrgos,
Ite sacra, jam non pulverulenta via est.

MART. XII. EP. 2.

In the time of Rutilius it was only a villa of some extent.

Alsia prælegitur tellus, Pyrgique recedunt ;
Nunc villæ grandes, oppida parva prius.

ITIN. I. 223.

The modern town of *S^a Severa* occupies its place.

Agylla,
quæ et
Cære.

We now come to Cære, or, as it is always called by the Greek writers, Agylla, one of the most considerable cities of Etruria, and universally acknowledged to have been founded by the Tyrrheni Pelasgi. (Dion. Hal. I. 20. and III. 60.)

Ancient writers seem puzzled to account for the change of name which this city is allowed to have undergone, the Romans never calling it any thing but Cære, except Virgil.

Haud procul hinc saxo colitur fundata vetusto
Urbis Agyllinæ sedes : ubi Lydia quondam
Gens, bello præclara, jugis insedit Etruscis.

ÆN. VIII. 478.

Strabo relates, that the Tyrrheni, who were Lydians, on arriving before this city, were hailed by the Pelasgi from the walls with the word *Xaĩpe*, according to the Greek mode of salutation, and that when they had made themselves masters of the place, they changed its name to that form of greeting. (V. 220.) Other variations of this story may be seen in Servius. (ad *Æn.* VIII. 597.) According to one of them, given on the authority of Hyginus, the Romans, and not the Lydians, changed its name from Agylla to Cære, which at least is more probable.

All these explanations, however, are very unsatisfactory ; and we must be content with knowing that the Cære of the Latins and the Agylla of the Greeks are the same city ; and that it retained the name by which it was known to the latter nation long after the supposed change can be thought to have taken place ^m.

The earliest record to be found of the history of Agylla is in Herodotus. (I. 166.) That writer informs us, that the Phocæans having been driven from their native city on the shores of Ionia by the arms of Cyrus, formed establishments in Corsica, of which the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, jealous of their nautical skill and enterprising spirit, sought to dispossess them. A severe action accordingly took place in the sea of Sardinia, between the Phocæans and the combined fleet of the latter powers, in which the former gained the day ; but it was such a victory as left them little room for exultation, having lost

^m I am inclined to think that Cære might be the original name, or, perhaps, that which the Siculi, the ancient posses-

sors, gave to the place, before the Pelasgic invasion. *Ker* is a Celtic word.

several of their ships, and the rest being nearly all disabled. The Agyllæans, who appear to have constituted the principal force of the Tyrrhenians, on their return home landed their prisoners, and barbarously stoned them to death; for which act of cruelty they were soon visited by a strange calamity. It was observed that all the living creatures which approached the spot where the Phocæans had been murdered, were immediately seized with convulsive distortions and paralytic affections of the limbs. On consulting the oracle of Delphi, to learn how they might expiate their offence, the Agyllæans were commanded to celebrate the obsequies of the dead, and to hold games in their honour; which order, the historian informs us, was punctually attended to up to his time. We learn also from Strabo, (V. 220.) that the Agyllæans enjoyed a great reputation for justice among the Greeks; for though very powerful, and able to send out large fleets and numerous armies, (Dion. Hal. III. 58.) they always abstained from piracy, to which the other Tyrrhenian cities were so much addicted. The circumstance of this city having a treasury at Delphi may be looked upon as a proof of its Grecian origin. We hear of Cære in the earliest period of Roman history, since Mezentius is represented both by Virgil (VIII. 480.) and Livy (I. 2.) as king of Cære; and in proof of its high antiquity we are informed by Pliny, that there were extant in his day at Cære paintings anterior to the foundation of Rome. (XXXV. 3.)

According to Dionysius, the Romans were first engaged in hostilities with Cære under the reign of Tarquin the Elder, and subsequently under Servius

Tullius, by whom a treaty was concluded between the two states. (III. 28.) Long after, when Rome had been taken by the Gauls, the Cærites rendered that city an important service by receiving their priests and vestals, and defeating the Gauls on their return through the Sabine country; on which occasion they recovered the gold with which Rome is said to have purchased its liberationⁿ. In return for this assistance, the Romans requited the Cærites inadequately, as Strabo seems to hint, by declaring them the public guests of Rome, and admitting them, though not in full, to the rights enjoyed by her citizens^o. (Cf. Liv. V. 40. and 50. Val. Max. I. 1. Aul. Gell. XVI. 13.) It may be, that afterwards, when some suspicions arose of their having assisted the people of Tarquinii in an attack upon the Roman territory, they had some difficulty in averting the vengeance of that people, (Liv. VII. 20.) and were then deprived of some of the privileges which had been granted them. Inscriptions give to Cære the title of colony and municipium, but when it obtained the first distinction is uncertain. Its zealous support of the republic in the war with Hannibal is attested by Livy (XXVIII. 45.) and Sil. Ital. (VIII. 474.)

ⁿ This is a curious fact, and not mentioned by any historian; but it agrees very well with the account which Polybius gives us of the retreat of the Gauls. (I. 6.)

^o That is, without the jus suffragii. This question, which is connected with that of the classification of the Cærites of Rome, is very obscure, and has exercised the ingenuity of seve-

ral able commentators; such as Spanhemius, (Orb. Rom. Exercit. I. c. 7.) and Freret. (Hist. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 111.) Perhaps, after all, the explanation of the Scholiast on the passage in Horace,

..... Cærite cera
Digni. Ep. I. 6. 62.

is the most simple, and agrees the best with Strabo and Livy.

Lectos Cære viros, lectos Cortona superbi
Tarcontis domus, et veteres misere Graviscae.

In Strabo's time, however, this celebrated city was reduced to insignificance, being less frequented than the mineral waters in its vicinity; which from that circumstance were known by the name of *Aquæ Cæretanæ*, now *Bagni di Sasso*^p. (Strab. loc. cit. Val. Max. I. 6.)

The river mentioned by Virgil as near the city, the Cæretanus amnis of Pliny, (III. 15.) is now called *Vaccina*.

Est ingens gelidum lucus prope Cæritis amnem,
Religione patrum late sacer; undique colles
Inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos.

ÆN. VIII. 597.

The remains of Cære are still to be traced about four miles from the sea, on a spot known to the people of the country by the name of *Cerveteri*.

The town of Alsium, also of Pelasgic origin, next presents itself on the coast. (Dion. Hal. I. 20.) Its place is now occupied by a tower belonging to the Orsini family, near *Palo*; on which latter site Cluverius supposed it to have stood. The precise spot is now known by the name of *Statua*^q. The foundation of Alsium is ascribed by Sil. Italicus to Halesus.

Necnon Argolico dilectum litus Haleso
Alsium.

VIII. 476.

It was colonized by the Romans 506. U. C. (Vell. Pater. I. 14. Liv. XXVII. 38.) but in Strabo's day

^p Holsten. Adnot. p. 35. ^q Giustin. Mem. Raccolt. P. I. p. 347.

was, however, apparently an insignificant place. (V. 220. Cf. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 61. Rutil. Itin. I. 222.) Pompey is known to have had a villa near it. (Cic. pro Mil. 20.)

At the mouth of the little river Aro, now *Arone*, Aro fl. was Fregenæ, once a maritime colony of the Ro-^{Fregenæ.} mans: (Liv. XXXVI. 3.) its marshy situation is noted by Silius Italicus.

— Et obsessæ campo squalente Fregenæ.

VIII. 475.

(Strab. V. 220. Plin. III. 5.) The site of this ancient city seems to correspond with the present *Torre Macarese*.

About two miles inland was Lorium, a villa in Lorium. which Antoninus Pius was brought up, and where he died: (Eutrop. VIII. Iul. Capitol. vit. Anton.) it answers to the present *Castel Guido*^a.

Near the Tiber were certain salt marshes, often Salinæ. mentioned in the early wars of Rome with Veii. (Dion. Hal. II. 55. Plut. vit. Romul. Liv. V. 45. and VII. 17.) Their situation is still marked by the name of *Campo di Saline*^r. The forest *Mæsia*, Mæsia silva. which was conquered from the same city by Ancus Martius, (Liv. I. 33.) is placed in this neighbourhood by Holstenius^s. Pliny reports that it abounded with dormice. (VIII. 58.)

The last place to be pointed out on the coast is Portus Augusti. the Portus Augusti at the mouth of the Tiber; but this will be better described, when we have occasion to speak of Ostia, which belongs to Latium.

^a Visconti Museo Pio Clement. t. ii. 336. verium, p. 59.

^s Id. loc. cit.

^r Holsten. Adnot. ad Clu-

Urgo, vel
Gorgon,
insula.

I have yet to notice the few islands which lie off the coast of Etruria. That of *Gorgona*, which lies opposite to *Leghorn*, is no doubt the Urgo of Pliny (III. 6.) and Mela. (II. 7.) Rutilius calls it Gorgon.

Adsurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon,
Inter Tyrrenum Cyrenaicumque latus.

I. 516.

Mænaria
insula.

Near to it is the Mænaria of Pliny, (III. 6.) now *Meloria*.

Ilva, sive
Æthalia,
insula.

The island of *Elba*, named *Æthalia* by the Greeks, (Stephanus Byz.) and *Ilva* by the Latins, is distant about ten miles from Populonium, the nearest point of the Tuscan coast.

Ilva was early celebrated for its rich iron mines; but by whom they were first discovered and worked is uncertain, as they are said to exhibit the marks of labours carried on for an incalculable time^t. It even seems to have been a popular belief among the ancients, that the metallic substance was constantly renewed. (Arist. de Mir. p. 1158. Strab. V. 223. Plin. XXXIV. 14.)

Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
Expertos belli juvenes: ast Ilva trecentos
Insula, inexhaustis chalybum generosa metallis.

ÆN. X. 173.

Non totidem Ilva viros, sed lectos cingere ferrum,
Ammarat patrio, quo nutrit bella, metallo.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 616.

Occurrit chalybum memorabilis Ilva metallis:
Qua nihil uberius Norica gleba tulit:

^t Pini Osserv. Mineral. sulla miniera di ferro di Rio. &c. 1777. 8vo. Lettre sur l'histoire

naturelle de l'isle d'Elbe, par Koestlin. Vienne. 1780. 8vo.

Non Biturix largo potior strictura metallo,
 Nec quæ Sardonio cespite massa fluit.
 Plus confert populis ferri fœcunda creatrix,
 Quam Tartessiaci glarea fulva Tagi.

RUTIL. IT. I. 351.

It is probable that the Phœnicians were the first to make known the mineral riches of this island, and that it was from them the Tyrrheni learnt to estimate its value; which may have held out to them no small inducement for settling on a coast otherwise deficient in natural advantages. It is to the latter people that I would trace the name of *Æthalia*; since it appears that Lemnos, which they once inhabited, bore, according to the testimony of Polybius, (ap. Steph. Byz.) the same appellation in ancient times^u.

The Portus Argous, supposed to have derived its ^{Argous portus.} name from the expedition of the Argonauts, is now *Porto Ferraio*. (Strab. V. 223. Diod. Sic. IV.)

Between *Elba* and Corsica, the little island called ^{Planasia insula.} Planasia by Varro (de R. Rust. III. 6.) and Planaria by Pliny, (III. 6.) is now *Pianosa*. Tacitus relates, that Augustus was persuaded by Livia to banish his nephew Agrippa there. (Ann. I. 3. and II. 39. Dio Cass. LV.) This island is also noticed by Strabo (II. 123.) and Ptolemy. (p. 67.)

The rock laid down in modern maps under the ^{Oglasa insula.} name of *Monte Cristo*, is the Oglasa of Pliny. Capraria, a larger island than the two last, is now ^{Capraria.} *Capraia*. Pliny informs us, (III. 7.) that it derived its name from the number of goats with which it was

^u The ancient coins of this island bear the mark of an anchor, with the epigraph IL and ILA in Etruscan characters. Lanzi, v. ii. p. 26.

stocked ; whence the Greeks called it *Ægilon*. (Varr. Rust. III. 3. Mel. II. 7.) In the time of Rutilius the goats appear to have given place to monks.

Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit,
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt. IT. I. 439.

Columbaria insula. The Columbaria of Pliny (III. 6.) is now called *Palmarola*.

Igilium insula. Opposite the harbour of Cossa are two small islands, Igilium, now *Giglio*, and Dianium or Artemisium, now *Gianuti*. The former is mentioned by Cæsar (Civ. B. I. 34. Mel. II. 7.) and Rutilius. (It. I. 325.)

Eminus Igilii silvosa cacumina miror.

Dianium insula. The latter by Pliny (III. 6.) and Steph. Byz.

Arretium. In order to describe what remains of the interior of Etruria, I shall now proceed to the north-east portion of that province, situated near the source of the *Arno*. Here we find *Arezzo*, the ancient Arretium, a town of considerable celebrity, and generally considered as one of the principal states of Etruria. (Dion. Hal. III. 51.) After an unsuccessful campaign, in which the Romans had carried their arms beyond the Ciminian forest, the Arretini and other northern states sued for peace, and obtained a truce for thirty years, A. U. C. 444.: (Liv. IX. 36.) after an interval of fourteen years, war, however, was again renewed by the Arretini, but with the same result ; when, on their submission, a cessation of hostilities was granted them for forty years.

From that time Arretium may be considered as

subject to the Romans, to whom, as a defence against the incursions of the Cisalpine Gauls, it became a post of great importance. In relating the transactions which led to the battle of Telamo it was stated, that a Roman general was stationed at Arretium; and some years after, we find the consul Flaminius posted there to defend the entrance of Etruria against Hannibal ^w. (Liv. XXII. 3.)

An, Corvine, sedet, clausum se consul inertī

Ut teneat vallo; Pœnus nunc occupet altos

Arretī muros.

SIL. ITAL. V. 123.

This city became a Roman colony probably soon after the time of Sylla. (Cic. pro Mur. et pro Cæc. Ad Att. I. 16. Front. de Col.) Pliny distinguishes three colonies; the Arretini, properly so called, and those surnamed Fidentes, and Iulienses. (III. 5.) I ^{Arretium Iulium.} follow Holstenius ^x and D'Anville in placing the latter at *Subliano*, and the former at *Castiglione*. ^{Arretium Fidents.}

Cæsar did not neglect to make himself master of this important place when he had seized on Ariminum, but sent M. Antony with five cohorts to occupy it. (Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 11. Cic. ad Fam. XVII. 12.)

Arretium was much celebrated for its Terra cotta vases, which Pliny ranks with those of Samos and Saguntum. (XXXV. 12.^y)

^w It was not till the year 565. U. C. that a regular Roman way was constructed from Arretium to Bologna by the consul C. Flaminius, son of the Flaminius here mentioned; (Liv. XXXIX. 2.) but it is clear that this passage of the Apennines was frequented previously,

and was the principal one on account of its communicating with Ariminum.

^x Adnotat. ad Cluv. p. 72. Gori Inscip. Ant. Etr.

^y Pignotti Storia della Toscana, i. p. 148. Angelucci documenti e note per illustrare la città d'Arezzo.

Aretina nimis ne spernas vasa monemus :

Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus.

MART. XIV. EP. 96.

Sic Aretinæ violent crystallina testæ.

ID. I. EP. 54.

And a verse by some ascribed to Virgil.

Aretina calix mensis decorante paternis.

From Festus, and numerous inscriptions, we gather, that Arretium was a municipal town. It is noticed by Strabo (V. 226.) and Ptolemy. (p. 65.) The last geographer has made us acquainted with two obscure places in the neighbourhood of Arretium, which we also find laid down in the Table as situated on the Via Cassia, between the last mentioned city and *Florence*.

Aquileia. Of these, Aquileia is marked in the above Itinerary as the first stage from *Florence*, and may be placed at *Incisa*^z. Biturgia, or Bituriha, the other, is fourteen miles nearer to Arretium, and may be conjectured to have stood at *Monte Vachi*, near the little river Ambra; for so the modern name leads us to suppose it should be written, and not Umbro, as in the Table ^a.

Cortona. About fourteen miles south of Arretium we find Cortona, a city whose claims to antiquity appear to be equalled by few other towns in Italy, and which to this day retains its name unchanged. Concerning its origin we learn from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who quotes from Hellanicus of Lesbos, an author somewhat anterior to Herodotus ^b, that the Pelasgi,

^z Cluv. Ital. Ant. I. 570.
Holsten. Adnot. p. 72.

^b Voss. Hist. Græc. l. iv.
c. 5.

^a Ital. Ant. I. p. 570.

who had landed at Spina on the Po, subsequently advanced into the interior of Italy, and occupied Cortona, which they fortified; and from thence formed other settlements in Tyrrhenia. On this account it is that we find Cortona styled the metropolis of that province by Steph Byz. (v. *Κρότων*) and Sil. Ital.

Lectos Cære viros, lectos Cortona superbi
Tarcontis domus, et veteres misere Graviscæ.

VIII. 474.

Elsewhere the same poet calls it the city of Corinthus, (V. 123.) in conformity with Virgil, who frequently alludes to the land of Corithus as the country of Dardanus, the founder of Troy.

Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre senes : his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetrarit ad urbes,
Threïciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Corithi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum^c.

ÆN. VII. 205.

^c See the Commentary of Servius on these lines. I think some confusion of names must have given rise to this story of Dardanus coming from Italy. It is known that there were several towns in antiquity of the name of Gyrtion, Gyrtone, and Gortyna, in Thessaly, Bœotia, Arcadia, and Crete; countries all more or less frequented at one time by the Pelasgi. This I believe to have been the original form in which Cortona was first named; for Polybius calls it Cyrtone, (III. 82.) and we know that the Etruscans and Umbri, who took their let-

ters from the Pelasgi, never used the letter O. Now according to some accounts, Dardanus came from Arcadia, and according to others from Crete. I should suspect, however, that the Thessalian Gyrtion ought to have the preference; for this city, in a passage of Strabo, though it is supposed to be mutilated, is entitled the Tyrrhenian: (VII. 330.) and this might prove the key to the Italian origin of Dardanus, besides confirming the identity of the Tyrrheni with the Thessalian Pelasgi.

Whatever may have been the origin of this fiction, the positive and historical evidence of the antiquity of Cortona is quite satisfactory. Nor can we doubt that it was one of the chief states of Etruria. (Liv. IX. 36.) We learn from Dionysius that subsequently it was colonized by the Romans; (I. 26.) at what period is uncertain, but it may be conjectured that this event took place about the time of Sylla, who is known to have colonized several towns of Etruria ^d.

Lacus Tra-
simenus.

A few miles to the south of Cortona is the Lacus Trasimenus, a name which naturally recalls the celebrated battle fought on its shores. The description of this disastrous overthrow of the Romans is so familiar to every reader, and is so clearly and accurately given by the original historians, that it is needless to dwell upon it here, except so far as it may serve to illustrate the local features of the country in which the contending armies moved and fought.

Hannibal, having on entering Etruria given his troops that repose which from their late fatigues they so much required, and during that time having thoroughly made himself acquainted with the character of the general opposed to him, and the nature of the country in which he was about to carry on the war, again moved forward, and crossing the *Arno* near *Florence*, advanced on the road marked in the Itineraries by the stations Aquileia, Fines, Bisturgia, and ad Græcos, leaving Arretium and the Roman army on his left. He then crossed the Palus Clusina, now *Val di Chiuna*, and having passed

^d For a plan of Cortona, see Micali, Tav. VI.

Cortona, (Polyb. III. 83. Liv. XXII. 4.) entered the defile, formed by the mountains, in the midst of which that city is placed, on the left, and by the lake Thrasimene on the right. This movement of Hannibal is well described by Strabo when mentioning this lake, but he has not been generally well understood. The geographer meant to say, there were two ways of moving to the south, either by Ariminum and Umbria, or by the defile just mentioned. The Carthaginian general succeeded in penetrating by the latter, though it was more difficult^e. (V. 226, 7.)

Beyond this narrow passage, and at the end of the lake along whose margin the road is necessarily carried, is a valley of some extent shut up by a steep hill, while it is flanked by others which rise to a considerable elevation. Here Hannibal laid that snare for the Roman consul which proved so fatal to him and his army. Flaminius, fired with indignation at having been out-manœuvred by the Carthaginian general, who was ravaging within sight of his camp the fertile plains of Etruria, pursued the foe with rash haste, and fell into the toils so artfully laid for him. The scene of this catastrophe is easily traced at the present day^f. The valley before described, is that which is now occupied by the village of *Passignano*. *Monte Gualandro* closes upon the lake, and forms the defile by which the two armies

^e The passage is doubtless corrupt; but by adopting Casaubon's correction it becomes plain and intelligible, supported as it is by the narrative of Polybius. The learned editor of the French Strabo seems to

have left the question undecided. *Eclairciss.* N^o. 26. p. 53.

^f A plan of this battle is to be found in general G. F. de Vaudoncourt's *Hist. des Camp. d'Annibal*.

successively entered. A little stream, which crosses the valley and falls into the lake, by its name of *Sanguinetto*, seems, together with the hamlet called *Ossaia*, to bear record of that bloody day. (Cf. *Sil. Ital.* V. 34.) This last mentioned writer leads us to infer, that the name of *Trasimenus* was derived from the *Tyrrheni*.

Quæ vada, Faunigenæ regnata antiquitus Auno,
Nunc volvente die, Thrasymeni nomina servant.
Lydius huic genitor, Tmoli decus, æquore longo
Mæoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras
Tyrrhenus pubem; dederatque vocabula terris.

V. 7.

Namque ego sum, celsis quem cinctum montibus ambit
Tmolo missa manus, stagnis Thrasymenus opacis.

Id. IV. 739.

Sunt tibi Flaminius Thrasymenaeque litora testes.

OVID. FAST. VI. 765.

Perusia.

Somewhat to the south-east of the lake, and on the site of the modern city of *Perugia*, from which it now receives its appellation^g, stood *Perusia*, a city scarcely inferior in antiquity to *Cortona*, and equal to it in dignity and rank among the confederate states of *Etruria*. (*Liv.* IX. 36. *Appian. Civ. Bell.* V. 49.) From *Justin* we collect that *Perusia* was of *Achæan*, that is to say, of *Pelasgic* origin^h. (XX. Cf. *Serv. ad Æn.* X. 201.)

The first mention of it in the *Roman history* occurs in *Livy*, (IX. 36.) where we read that the Ro-

^g In *Appian. Hann.* 9. it is evident we should read Περυσίνη for Πλειστίνη λίμνη.

^h On the antiquities of Pe-

rugia, see *Ciatti Storia di Perugia*; and *Lanzi*, vol. ii. p. 76. &c.

mans, having penetrated for the first time beyond the great Ciminian forest, defeated the Perugians, and forced them to sue for peace. It became a Roman colony about 709 U. C. under the consulship of C. Vibius Pansa; and some years after sustained a memorable siege, in which Antony held out against Octavius Cæsar, but was at length forced by famine to surrender. On this occasion many of the Perugians were put to death, and the city was accidentally burned; a madman having set fire to his own house, a general conflagration ensued. (App. Civ. Bell. V. 49.)

His, Cæsar, Perusina fames, Mutinæque labores
Accedant fatis. LUCAN. I. 41.

(Cf. Vell. Pater. II. 74. Flor. IV. 5. Suet. Aug. c. 96.)

Perugia appears however to have risen again from its ruins according to Appian and Dio Cass. (XLVIII. Cf. Strab. V. 226. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 65.) And under the emperor Justinian, we find it maintaining a successful siege against the Goths. (Procop. Bell. Got. I. and IV.)

Nearly on a line with Perugia, and to the west of it, was Clusium, now *Chiusi*, which, of all the cities Clusium. that have hitherto been named, seems to have the best pretensions to be ranked among the twelve, since we know that it was the capital of Porsenna, the early enemy of Rome. (Liv. II. 9. Plut. vit. P. Val. Public. Cf. Dion. Hal. III. 51.) We learn from Livy, that the first name of this city was Camers; (X. 25.) and as we are aware of the existence of a people of Umbria called Camertesⁱ, it may be infer-

ⁱ See the next section.

red that it belonged to them before the Tyrrheni had obtained possession of it. The siege of Clusium by the Gauls, and the provocation they received there from the Roman ambassadors, which led to the capture of Rome, will occur to the recollection of every one. (Liv. V. 33. Diod. Sic. XIV.) It has been stated, that on another expedition the Gauls again advanced as far as this city; (Polyb. II. 25.) which, according to Strabo, was distant 800 stadia from Rome^k. (V. 226.) It was near Clusium that Porsenna erected for himself the splendid mausoleum, of which Pliny has transmitted to us a description on the authority of Varro. (Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 13.) The whole account seems to bear no small appearance of fiction; for had such a stupendous work really existed, some traces of it would surely have remained, not merely in Pliny's day, but even in the present age. The other authors who have noticed Clusium, are App. Civ. Bell. I. 89. Vell. Pater. II. 28. Flor. I. 13. and Virgil.

Massicus ærata princeps secatur aquora Tigri:
Sub quo mille manus juvenum; qui moenia Clusi,
Quique urbem liquere Cosas—

ÆN. X. 167.

Clusium
Novum.

Pliny makes a distinction between Clusium Vetus and Novum; (III. 5.) and a village named *Chiusi*, supposed to represent the latter, is pointed out at the foot of the Apennines north of *Arezzo*, in confirmation of this distinction.

Near the ancient Clusium were marshes formed by the river Clanis, *la Chiana*, sufficiently extensive

Palus Clusina.

^k This distance does not agree with the Itineraries, which give 134 miles; but they must be corrected from Strabo.

to deserve, in Strabo's idea, the appellation of the Clusine lake. (V. 226.) The Clanis empties itself into the Tiber; but from Tacitus it may be seen, that a project was once agitated for causing its stagnant waters to discharge themselves into the *Arno*. (Ann. I. 79.)

Between Clusium and Sena is a town named ^{Manliana.} Manliana by the Itineraries and Ptolemy, which I have ventured to place at *Pienza*; but I confess that this is only a conjecture. Cluverius decides nothing.

Volsinii, or Volsinium, situated on the northern ^{Volsinii.} shore of the lake to which it gave its name, as the modern *Bolsena* does at present, is generally allowed to rank among the first cities of the ancient Etruscans. An account of its early contest with Rome is to be found in Livy. (V. 31.) About the time of the war against Pyrrhus, Volsinii, which the Roman writers represent as a most opulent and flourishing town, became so enervated by its wealth and luxury, as to allow its slaves to overthrow the constitution, and give way to the most unbridled licentiousness and excess, till at last the citizens were forced to seek for that protection from Rome which they could not derive from their own resources.

The rebels were then speedily reduced and brought to condign punishment. (Val. Max. VIII. 1. Flor. I. 21. Oros. IV. 5.) As a proof of the ancient prosperity of Volsinii, it is stated by Pliny, on the authority of Metrodorus Scepsius, that it possessed, when taken by the Romans, no less than 2000 statues. (XXXIV. 7.) From Livy we learn that the Etruscan goddess Nortia was worshipped there, and that it was customary to mark the years by fixing

nails in her temple. (VII. 3.) Volsinii at a later period is noted as the birthplace of Sejanus. (Tacit. Ann. IV. 1.)

Lacus Volsiniensis.

The hilly banks of the Lacus Vulsiniensis were covered with wood—

Aut positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis—

JUV. SAT. III. 191.

and its waters abounded with fish. (Varr. R. Rust. VIII. 16. Strab. V. 226.) Pliny, who calls it the Tarquinian lake, mentions that it had two floating islands. (II. 95.)

Vallia fl.
Herbanum.

Somewhat to the north-east of Volsinii, and where the Clanis receives the little river *Paglia*, the Vallia of the Itineraries, stood Herbanum, (Plin. III. 5.) or Urbs Vetus, (Paul. Diacon. IV. 33. Procop. Rer. Got.) which is generally admitted to be the modern *Orvieto*¹. Balneum Regis (Paul. Diacon. IV.) is now *Bagnarea*.

Suana.
Saturnia.

North-west of Volsinii we have to notice Suana, (Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 65.) now *Soana*. Saturnia, whose ruins may be seen near the source of the Albinia, and which is mentioned by Dion. Hal. (I. 21.) as formerly occupied by the Pelasgi. According to Pliny, its more ancient name was Aurinia. (III. 5.) Saturnia received a colony from Rome 569 U. C. (Liv. XXXIX. 55. Ptol. p. 65.) The site of Calettra, which must have stood in this district, is uncertain. (Liv. XXXIX. 55. Plin. III. 5.) Beyond the Albinia, the Eba of Ptolemy seems to have occupied the position of *Monte Po*. To the south of these last mentioned places we hear of Statonia, now

Calettra.

Eba.

Statonia.

¹ Very ancient Etruscan inscriptions have been found here. Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 306. not.

Castro, on the left bank of the Arminia, (Strab. V. 226.) and near a lake to which it communicated its name, now *Lago di Mezzano*. (Senec. Nat. Quæst. ^{Statonien-} III. 25.) There were quarries of white flint in this ^{sis lacus.} district. (Vitruv. II. 27. Plin. XXXVI. 22.) *Su-* ^{Sudertum.} *dertum*, (Plin. III. 5. Liv. XXVI. 23.) probably the same as the Sudernum of Ptolemy, (p. 65.) is perhaps *Sorano*. *Verentum* and *Visentium* (Plin. ^{Verentum.} ^{Visentium.} III. 5.) are *Varentano* and *Bisentino*. Somewhat farther south, Tuscania is now *Toscanella*, on the ^{Tuscania.} right bank of the Marta ^m.

Between this last place and Tarquinii must have ^{Volci.} stood the ancient city of Volci, whose inhabitants are called Vulcientes, in a fragment of the Fasti Capitol. In Steph. Byz. who quotes the name from Polybius, we find it called ^{Ὀλκίων.} (Cf. Plin. III. 5.) Holstenius and a modern writer assure us, that vestiges of this town are still to be traced in the district of *Camposcala* near *Montalto*, and that the ancient site is still known by the name *Piano di Volci* ⁿ.

South of the Volsinian lake, the baths called *Aquæ* ^{Aquæ Pas-} ^{seris.} *Passeris*—

..... fervidique

Fluctus Passeris— MARTIAL. VI. EP. 42.

still present some remains under the name of *Bagni della Serpa*, not far from *Viterbo*. *Viterbo* itself is supposed to occupy the place of the Fanum ^{Fanum} ^{Voltumnæ.} *Voltumnæ*, celebrated as the spot where the general assembly of the Etruscan nation was held on solemn occasions. (Liv. IV. 23. V. 17. &c.) Some trace of

^m Etruscan antiquities have been discovered here. Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 324.

ⁿ Holsten. Adnot. p. 40. *Micali l'Italia avanti il dom, &c.* t. i. p. 127.

the ancient name is preserved in that of a church called *S^a. Maria in Volturno*°.

Polimartium.

Advancing towards the Tiber we find Polimartium, (Plin. III. 5.) now *Bomarzo*; and close to that river, Horta, which still retains its name. (Plin. III. 5.) It may be questioned whether Virgil alludes to this city, when he says,

Horta.

Qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit
Nursia, et Hortinæ classes, populique Latini.

ÆN. VII. 715.

Castellum Amerinum.

Vadimonis lacus.

But the mention of the Tiber, and the circumstance of there being no other city of that name, are in favour of the town we are now noticing. Ancient inscriptions inform us, that Horta was one of the military colonies established by Augustus^p. A little to the westward was Castellum Amerinum, now *Bassano*, near which was the estate of Calpurnius, the father-in-law of the younger Pliny, who in one of his Epistles (VIII. 20.) describes the floating islands of the lake Vadimon, which formerly existed close to *Bassano*, but is now filled up with peat and rushes^q. (Senec. Nat. Hist. Quæst. III. 25. Plin. II. 95. Sotion de Mirand. Font. &c.) This lake is celebrated in the history of Rome for having witnessed the total defeat of the Etruscans by the Romans A.U.C. 444. a defeat so decisive, that they never could recover from its effects. (Liv. IX. 39.) Another battle was again fought here by the Etruscans, in conjunction with the Gauls, against the Romans, with the same ill success. (Polyb. II. 20. Flor. I. 12.) Nearer

° Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 107.

^q Id. p. 41. Micali, vol. iii.

^p Fontanini de Antiq. Hortæ Col. Etrusc. p. 325.

Viterbo was *Ferentinum*, now *Ferenti*, which must not be mistaken for a town of the same name in *Latium*. It is probable that *Horace* alludes to the former of these places, when he says,

Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
Delectat; si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
Si lædit caupona; *Ferentinum* ire jubebo.

I. *EPIST.* 17.

From *Vitruvius*, who speaks of some valuable stone quarries in its neighbourhood, we collect that it was a *municipium*: (II. 7.) *Strabo* ranks it with the lesser towns of *Etruria*, (V. 225.) but it is remarked, that *Frontinus* names it among the colonies of that province. The emperor *Otho's* family was of this city. (*Suet. Oth. I. Sex. Aur. Vict. Tacit. Hist. II. 50. Cf. Ann. XV. 53.*)

A little to the west was *Trossulum*, of which some ^{Trossu-}remains have been discovered at a place which bears ^{lum.} the name of *Trosso*. *Cluverius* was therefore mistaken in fixing it at *Monte Fiascone*^r. *Pliny* tells us, that this town having been taken by cavalry alone, the Roman horse from that circumstance obtained the name of *Trossuli*. (*Plin. XXXIII. 2. Cf. Fest. v. Trossuli.*) In *Livy*, (X. 46.) *Cluverius* would read *Trossulum* for *Troilium*.

The position of *Salpinum*, which is mentioned by ^{Salpinum.} *Livy* (V. 31.) as a city allied with *Volsinii*, is uncertain; but I am inclined to think that some trace of it is preserved in the name of an old church called *S. Giov. in Selina*, a few miles north-east of *Viterbo*.

The range of hills which lies south of this last-

^r *Holsten. Adnot. p. 67.*

Mons Ciminus.

mentioned town is the well known Mons Ciminus.

Lacus Ciminus.

The lake of the same name, situated at its foot, is the *Lago di Vico*, or *Ronciglione*. (Strab. V. 225.)

Et Cimini cum monte lacum.—

ÆN. VII. 697.

Succinium.

It was reported, that a city named Succinium had once been swallowed up in the depths of this lake. (Amm. Marcell. XIII. 16. Sotion. de Mirand. Font. &c.)

Ciminia silva.

The Ciminian forest, whose almost impenetrable shades served for a time as a barrier to Etruria against the attacks of Rome, is described as covering the adjoining country to a considerable extent. (Liv. IX. 36. Front. Strat. I. 2. Plin. II. 96.)

Fescennium.

East of the Ciminian lake, and near the Tiber, was Fescennium, or Fescennia, as it is sometimes written, (Plin. III. 5.) which seems to have occupied the site of the modern *Galese*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has informed us, that Fescennium was first possessed by the Siculi, who were afterwards expelled by the Pelasgi; and he adds, that some slight indications of the occupation of this city by the latter people might still be observed in his day. (I. 21.) It is on this account, probably, that Solinus (c. 8.) says, it was founded by the Argives. Fescennia is noted in the annals of Latin poetry for the nuptial songs called *Carmina Fescennina*, to which, according to Festus, it gave its name. (Cf. Plin. XV. 22.)

Falisci.
Falerii.

South-west of this city must have stood Falerium, or, as it is more generally called, Falerii^s, the capi-

^s Adnot. p. 67.

tal of the ancient Falisci, so well known from their connection with the early history of Rome. Much uncertainty seems to have existed respecting the ancient site of this city, but it seems now well ascertained that it occupied the position of the present *Civita Castellana*. Cluverius, and after him Holstenius^t, have satisfactorily established this point. The doubt seems to have originated in the notion, that there was a city named Faliscum, as well as Falerii. (Cf. Strab. V. 226. Diod. Sic. XIV. Solin. 8.) The situation of the ancient town of Falerii is made to agree with that of *Civita Castellana*, from the expressions of Plutarch (Vit. Camill.) and Zonaras, (Ann. II.) who both describe it as placed on a lofty summit; and the latter states, that the old town was destroyed, and a new one built at the foot of the hill. This fact is confirmed by the identity of the new Falerii with the church of *S^a. Maria Falari*, on the track of the Flaminian way, where the Itineraries place that city. We learn too from Pliny, (III. 5.) that Falerium became a colony under the name of Falisca, a circumstance which sufficiently reconciles the apparent contradiction in the accounts of this city. (Cf. Front. de Col. p. 130.)

Falerii, according to Dion. Hal. (I. 21.) belonged at first to the Siculi; but these were succeeded by the Pelasgi, to whom the Greek form of its name is doubtless to be ascribed, as well as the temple and rites of the Argive Juno, and other indications of a Greek origin^u which were observed by that histo-

^t Adnot. p. 67.

^u If the coins with the epigraph FAA and FAΛEION really belong to Falerii, as most antiquaries seem agreed, it must

not however be supposed that they are of a very ancient date. See Eckel. Num. vet. Anecd. p. 9. Lanzi, v. ii. p. 25.

rian, and with which Ovid, who had married a lady of this city^u, seems also to have been struck, though he has followed the less authentic tradition, which ascribed the foundation of Falerii to Halesus, son of Agamemnon.

Cum mihi pomiferis conjux foret orta Faliscis,
 Mœnia contigimus victa, Camille, tibi.
 Casta sacerdotes Junoni festa parabant
 Per celebres ludos, indigenamque bovem.
 Grande moræ pretium ritus cognoscere, quamvis
 Difficilis clivis huc via præbet iter.
 Stat vetus et densa prænubilus arbore lucus :
 Aspice, concedas numen inesse loco.
 Accipit ara preces, votivaque tura piorum,
 Ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus.
 Hinc ubi præsonuit sollenni tibia cantu,
 It per velatas annua pompa vias.
 Ducuntur niveæ, populo plaudente, juvencæ,
 Quas aluit campis herba Falisca suis.

* * * *

Qua ventura dea est, juvenes timidæque puellæ
 Præverrunt latas veste jacente vias.
 Virginei crines auro gemmaque premuntur,
 Et tegit auratos palla superba pedes.
 More patrum Graio velatæ vestibibus albis,
 Tradita supposito vertice sacra ferunt.
 Ore favent populi, tum cum venit aurea pompa :
 Ipsa sacerdotes subsequiturque suas.
 Argiva est pompæ facies. Agamemnone cæso,
 Et scelus et patrias fugit Halesus opes :
 Jamque pererratis profugus terraque fretoque,
 Mœnia felici condidit alta manu.
 Ille suos docuit Junonia sacra Faliscos.
 Sint mihi, sint populo semper amica suo.

AMOR. III. ELEG. 13.

^u Probably Perilla, the last of his three wives.

Venerat Atridæ fatis agitatus Halesus^x;
A quo se dictam terra Falisca putat.

Id. FAST. IV. 73.

We find the epithet of *Æqui* commonly attached to the *Falisci* by the poets—

Hi Fescenninas acies, *Æquosque Faliscos*.

ÆN. VII. 695.

Hos mixti Nepesina cohors *Æquique Falisci*.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 491.

as they are said to have paid particular attention to the laws of equity; and it is supposed the Romans derived from them their *feciales*, and other ceremonies for making war or peace: (Serv. ad *Æn.* l. cit.) but Strabo seems to have considered this word as part of their name, rather than an adjunct. (V. 226.^y) The same writer states, that many conceived the *Falisci* to be a peculiar people distinct from the *Tuscans*, and having a language of their own. They formed part, however, of the Etruscan confederacy, and constituted one of its principal states. (Liv. IV. 23.)

The early wars of the *Falisci* with Rome are chiefly detailed in the fifth book of Livy, where the celebrated story of Camillus and the schoolmaster of *Falerii* occurs. (c. 27. Cf. Val. Max. VI. 5. Plut. vit. Camill. Front. Strat. V. 4.)

It was not however till the third year after the first Punic war, that this people was finally reduced. (Polyb. I. 65. Liv. Epit. XIX. Oros. IV. 11.)

^x Virgil supposes Halesus to have settled in Campania. (*Æn.* VIII. 724.)

^y See this passage fully discussed in the French Strabo. *Eclairc.* N^o. 2.

The waters of the Faliscan territory were supposed, like those of the Clitumnus, to have the peculiar property of communicating a white colour to cattle. (Plin. II. 103.)

Mons Soracte.

A little to the south-east of Falerium was the celebrated Mons Soracte, now *Monte S. Silvestro*, or, as it is by modern corruption sometimes termed, *Sant' Oreste*.

Vides, ut alta stet nive candidum

Soracte—

HOR. OD. I. 9.

Hirpii.

On the summit was a temple and grove, dedicated to Apollo, to whom an annual sacrifice was offered by a people of the country distinguished by the name of Hirpii, who were on that account held sacred, and exempted from military service and other public duties. (Plin. VII. 2.) The sacrifice consisted in their passing over heaps of red hot embers, without being injured by the fire.

Summe deûm, sancti custos Soractis, Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
Pascitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna:
Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis.

ÆN. XI. 785.

Tum Soracte satum, præstantem corpore et armis,
Æquandum noscens; (patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Quum pius arcitenens adcensis gaudet acervis,
Extæ ter innocuos late portare per ignes)
Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia pruna
Inviolata teras, victorque vaporis ad aras
Dona serenato referas solennia Phœbo.

SIL. ITAL. V. 175.

A remarkable fountain, whose exhalations were fatal to birds, is mentioned as existing in the vicinity of this mountain by Pliny (XXXI. 2.) and Vitruvius. (VIII. 3. ^z)

South-east of Mount Soracte was Capena, a city ^{Capena.} frequently recorded in the early annals of Rome among those which opposed, though unsuccessfully, the gradual encroachment of its power. Great uncertainty seems to have prevailed among the inquirers into ancient topography, as to the site of this town. Ligorio and Holstenius place it at *Morlupo* ^a, while Cluverius inclines to *Civitella* ^b, which is situated more to the east, and close to the Tiber. But an Italian antiquary, who has written a dissertation on the subject ^c, appears to me to have proved satisfactorily, that Capena must have stood at a place called *Civitucula*; where some ruins may still be seen, and several ancient inscriptions referring to the municipal town of Capena have been discovered ^d. *Civitucula*, according to this writer, is about five miles from Soracte, and nearly the same distance from the Tiber ^e. Capena is said to have been a colony of Veii; (Cato ap. Serv. ad *Æn.* VII. 697.) and we often find it allied with that city, as well as the Falisci, against Rome. (Liv. V. 8. and 24.) The fertility of the lands of Capena is noticed by Cicero. (Orat. pro L. Flacco.) A portion of this district was called *Stellatinus Ager*, and gave its name to a ^{Stellatinus Ager.} Roman tribe. (Fest. v. *Stellatina*.)

^z Holsten. Adnot. p. 60.

^a Adnot. p. 62.

^b Ital. Ant. I. p. 549.

^c Galetti Discorso intorno

al sito di Capena Municipio dei Romani. Roma. 1756.

^d Id. p. 18.

^e Id. p. 2.

In the same vicinity were the grove and temple of Feronia, which, according to Strabo, stood at the foot of Mount Soracte, and were so much frequented, that in his time a city was formed, as it would seem, from the great concourse of people who resorted to the shrine of the goddess. (V. 226.^f)

The riches of this temple were so great as to tempt, if we may credit Livy and Silius Italicus, the cupidity of Hannibal: both these authors represent that general on his last approach to Rome, as deviating from his course for the express purpose of plundering the wealth treasured up in this sanctuary. (Liv. XXVI.)

..... Itur in agros
Dives ubi ante omnes colitur Feronia luco,
Et sacer humectat fluvialia rura Capenas.
Fama est, intactas longævi ab origine fani
Crevisse, in medium congestis undique donis,
Immensum per tempus opes.

SIL. ITAL. XIII. 84.

But it may be doubted whether the historian, and the poet, who always follows him, are not guilty of an error in this respect. It is certain that there was a temple and a grove belonging to the same goddess among the Sabines, (Dion. Hal. III. 32. Liv. I. 30.) some traces of which have been discovered not far from Eretum in that country^g; a direction which agrees much better with the route pursued by

^f Cluverius and Galetti place it nearer the Tiber than Capena: see the latter, p. 35. Strabo ascribes to the temple of Feronia the rites which were performed on Soracte in ho-

nour of Apollo; but he is generally admitted to be mistaken on this point.

^g Fabretti Inscript. Ant. p. 452.

Hannibal, according to Cœlius Antipater. (Liv. XXVI. 11.)

The same uncertainty attends the little river *Turia* fl. *Turia*, mentioned by Livy and Silius, in reference to the same event. It is described as falling into the Tiber about six miles from Rome; but it may be doubted on which bank of the Tiber we are to look for this obscure rivulet ^h.

Castra locat, nulla lædens ubi gramina ripa
Turia deducit tenuem sine nomine rivum,
Et tacite Tuscis inglorius adfluit undis.

SIL. ITAL. XIII. 4.

South of Capena, and near the Tiber, *Fiano* ⁱ re-Flavinium, presents the Flavinium of Virgil,

Hi Soractis habent arces, Flaviniaque arva,
Et Cimini cum monte lacum lucosque Capenos.
ÆN. VII. 696.

and the Flavina of Silius. (VIII. 492.)

Quique tuos, Flavina, focos, Sabatia quique
Stagna tenent, Ciminique lacum.

South-west of Falerii was Nepete, or Nepe, which *Nepete* has undergone but little change in its name under the modern form of *Nepi*. Pliny calls it *Nepet*, (III. 5.) and Sigonius contends for this being the true reading; but in all the ancient inscriptions which have been found here, it is written *Nepete*. In Strabo it is named *Nepita*. (V. 226.)

We find this place in early times subject to the Romans, and afterwards becoming one of their colo-

^h Ital. Ant. I. p. 709.

ⁱ Holsten. Adnot. p. 63.

nies, A. U. C. 371. (Liv. VI. 9. and 21. Vell. Pater. I. 14.) In the second Punic war Nepe incurred the censure of the senate, for its tardiness in contributing to the necessities of the state during those urgent times. (Liv. XXVII. 9. See also Front. de Col. Ptol. p. 65. Fest. v. Municip.)

Sutrium.

About eight miles to the west was Sutrium, now *Sutri*, a city of some note, and considered by the Romans as an important acquisition in furtherance of their designs against Etruria. Having been surprised by the latter power, it fell into their hands, but was almost immediately recovered by Camillus. (Liv. VI. 3.) Many years after, it was again besieged by the Etruscans, whilst the Roman forces were employed against the Samnites; but by the exertions of the consul Fabius Rullianus the siege was raised. (Liv. IX. 32. and 35. Diod. Sic. XX.)

Sutrium was colonized by the Romans, as Vel-leiûs Paterculus reports, seven years after Rome had been taken by the Gauls. (I. 14.) Subsequently we find it included under the censure which has already been noticed in the case of Nepete. (Liv. XXVII. 9.) Sutrium is also incidentally mentioned by Plautus, *Casin. Act. III. sc. 1.* Appian. *Civ. Bell. V. 31.* Strab. V. 226. Plin. III. 5. Plut. vit. Camill. Ptol. p. 55. and Sil. Ital. VIII. 493.

..... qui Sutria tecta
Haud procul, et sacrum Phœbo Soracte frequentant.

Blera.

Farther west is Blera, now *Bieda*, (Strab. V. 226. Ptol. p. 65.) situated, as the Itineraries inform us, on the Clodian way.

Forum
Clodii.

Forum Clodii, on the same road more to the south, was the seat of a prefect, who included under

his jurisdiction a district called *Novem Pagi*. (Plin. ^{Novem Pagi.} III. 5.) The site of this Forum is supposed to agree with that of *Orivolo*^k, a place somewhat north-west of the *Lacus Sabatinus*. This lake derived its name ^{Lacus Sabatinus.} from Sabate, a city situated not far, probably, from Sabate. the site of the present *Bracciano*, which now gives its name to the lake. It was said that a town had formerly been swallowed up by the *Lacus Sabatinus*; and it was even asserted, that in calm weather its ruins might still be seen below the surface of the water. (Sotion. de Mirand. Font.) Columella notices its fish; (VIII. 16.) and Frontinus tells us, that water was conveyed from thence, and from the neigh- ^{Lacus Alsietinus.} bouring *Lacus Alsietinus*, now *Lago di Martignano*^l, by an aqueduct to the capital. (de Aquæd. I.)

Between Sabate and Tarquinii are some warm springs, anciently called *Aquæ Apollinares*, now ^{Aquæ Apollinares.} *Bagni di Stigliano*, which Cluverius^m confounds with the *Aquæ Cæretanæ* already noticedⁿ. These baths are mentioned by Martial under the poetical name of “*Phœbi vada*.” (VI. Ep. 42.)

Nearer Rome, and still on the *Via Clodia*, the *Cæreia* of Frontinus (loc. cit.) and the Itineraries, ^{Cæreia.} is *Galera*^o.

If now we cross from the *Clodian* to the *Cassian* way, and proceed about a mile to the east of the latter, we shall not be far from the ruins of the ancient *Veii*. ^{Veii.} To repeat all the disputes and discussions to which the difficulty of ascertaining the exact position of this famous city has given rise, would be to try the patience of the reader to little purpose. We are now

^k Holsten. Adnot. p. 47.

^l Id. p. 45.

^m Ital. Antiq. I. p. 493.

ⁿ See p. 208.

^o Holsten. Adnot. p. 44.

enabled by the help of more modern discoveries to state, that the site of this once formidable rival of Rome answers, as the sagacious Holstenius first suspected^p, to the spot known by the name of *l'Isola Farnese*, and situated about a mile and half to the north-east of the modern post-house of *la Storta*. The numerous remains of antiquity found there a few years ago have placed this fact beyond dispute^q. D'Anville, with his usual accuracy^r, has made out the distance from Rome by the old Veian way to be exactly eleven miles, which agrees sufficiently with the 100 stadia of Dion. Halic. (II. 54.) but the expression of Livy, "intra vicesimum lapidem," (V. 4.) is much more indefinite. It is very probable that in his time the position of the old town was little known, a new city called Colonia Veiens having effaced the recollection of the more ancient Veii. (Front. de Col.)

If we were to enter at length into the history of Veii, we should have to discuss at the same time the early annals of its more successful opponent and neighbour. All that is more particularly interesting in its records is to be found in the fifth book of Livy, where its siege and downfall, by the hands of Camillus, are related.

That this city was strong from its position, and defended by huge walls, appears from Livy (V. 2.) and Dion. Hal. (II. 54. and IX. 35.) Its circuit indeed is stated by the latter writer to have equalled that of Athens; which, as we learn from Thucydides, (II. 13.) was sixty stadia, or between

^p Adnot. p. 53. and 54. Cf. Nardini Veio Antico.

ne' Contorni di Roma, t. i. p. 57.

^q Nibby Viaggio Antiquario

^r Anal. Geogr. p. 128.

seven and eight miles; and there is no reason to doubt this account of Dionysius, if we consider the extent of several other Etruscan cities, of which the walls are still partly standing. Nor can it be doubted, that Veii was one of the twelve principal states of Etruria, since we are told that the other eleven cities took offence at its having concluded a separate peace with Rome; and again on another occasion, that they were displeased because the Veians elected a ruler who gave general dislike to the rest of the nation. (Dion. Hal. IX. 18. Cf. Liv. V. 1.) The power of Veii is sufficiently evinced by the resistance it singly made for so long a period to the Roman arms; and its opulence is attested by the account which historians have given of the booty which Camillus obtained for his army at its fall. (Liv. V. 22. and 24. Flor. I. 12. Plut. Camill.) In fertility of soil and extent of territory, Veii had greatly the advantage of its rival. (Liv. V. 14.)

After the capture of Rome by the Gauls, and the attempt made to transfer the seat of Roman power to Veii, we scarcely hear of the latter city. (Liv. V. 29.)

..... Tarpeia sede perusta
 Gallorum facibus, Veiosque habitante Camillo,
 Illic Roma fuit. LUCAN. V. 29.

We collect only from a passage in Frontinus, (de Col.) that Veii became a Roman colony under Julius Cæsar, who divided its lands among his soldiers; but in the civil wars which ensued after his death it was nearly destroyed, and left in a most desolate state, a fact which is confirmed by Lucan, (VII. 392.)

..... Tunc omne Latinum
 Fabula nomen erit: Gabios, Veiosque, Coramque
 Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ.

and Propertius. (IV. Eleg. 10, 27.)

Et Veii veteres et vos tum regna fuistis,
 Et vestro posita est aurea sella foro.
 Nunc inter muros pastoris buccina lenti
 Cantat, et in vestris opibus arva metunt.

It is certain, however, that Veii again rose from its ruins, and was raised to municipal rank, probably under Tiberius, whose statue, with several other monuments relating to his reign, were discovered on the site of the city. It existed in the time of Pliny, (III. 5.) and even much later under the emperors Constantine and Theodosian^s.

Cremera fl. Between Veii and Rome runs the little river Cremera, so celebrated for the daring but unfortunate enterprise of the gallant Fabii.

Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni,
 Hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.
 Hæc fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus arvis
 Ter centum Fabii, ter cecidere duo.
 Una domus vires et onus suscepit Urbis;
 Sumunt gentiles arma professa manus.
 Egreditur castris miles generosus ab isdem,
 E quâ dux fieri quilibet aptus erat.
 Carmentis portæ dextro via proxima Jano est:
 Ire per hæc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.
 Ut celeri passu Cremeram tetigere rapacem,
 (Turbidus hybernis ille fluebat aquis)
 Castra loco ponunt, &c. OVID. FAST. II. 193.

^s See the several inscriptions relating to the new Veii in Nib- by's work already cited, t. i. p. 46.

The Cremera is now called *la Valca*, a rivulet which rises in the neighbourhood of *Baccano*, and falls into the Tiber a little below *Prima Porta*. This last place answers to the station marked in the Itinerary by the name of ad Rubras, on the Flaminian way. Saxa Rubra.

Fidenas veteres, brevesque Rubras.

MART. IV. EP. 64.

But the original name seems to have been Saxa Rubra. (Cic. Phil. II. 31. Liv. II. 49. Tacit. Hist. III. 79.) Close to this spot must have stood the villa of Livia, called ad Gallinas. (Plin. XV. 30. Suet. Ad Gallinas. Galb. I.

It may be observed, that the district which lies between the *Valca* and Tiber was anciently known by the name of Septem Pagi. (Dion. Hal. II. 55. Septem Pagi. Plut. vit. Romul.)

About two miles from Rome, we find on the Tiber a bridge called Pons Milvius, or Mulvius, a name Pons Milvius. which has been corrupted into that of *Ponte Molle*. Its construction is ascribed to M. Æmilius Scaurus, who was censor A. U. C. 644. (Auct. de Vir. Illustr. c. 27.) If this be true, when Livy mentions this bridge, (XXVII. 51.) he must be supposed to speak of it by anticipation. We learn from Cicero, that the Pons Milvius existed at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, since the deputies of the Allobroges were here seized by his orders. (Cat. III. s. 2.) In later times it witnessed the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine. (Zosim. II. 16.)

About a mile from the bridge, at the point where the Flaminian and Clodian ways branched off, were the gardens of Ovid.

Nec quos pomiferis positos in montibus hortos
 Spectat Flaminiae Clodia juncta viæ.
 Quos ego nescio cui colui; quibus ipse solebam
 Ad sata fontanas, nec pudet, addere aquas.
 Sunt ibi, si vivunt, nostra quoque consita quondam,
 Sed non et nostra poma legenda manu.

ELEG. PONT. I. 9.

Tiberis fl.

I shall now conclude this description of Etruria with a brief notice of the Tiber, as this celebrated river is generally referred by the classical authorities to that province. Its first name is said to have been Albula, and it took that of Thybris, or Tiberis, from a Tuscan or Latin prince so called, who was drowned in its waters.

Tum reges, asperque immani corpore Thybris,
 A quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim
 Diximus: amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.

ÆN. VIII. 330.

Albula, quem Tiberim mersus Tiberinus in undis
 Reddidit.

OVID. FAST. II. 389.

Thybrî, doce verum: tua ripa vetustior Urbe;
 Principium ritus tu bene nosse potes.
 Thybris arundiferum medio caput extulit alveo;
 Raucaque dimovit talibus ora sonis.

* * * *

Arcadis Evandri nomen tibi sæpe refertur;
 Ille meas remis advena torsit aquas.
 Venit et Alcides turba comitatus Achiva:
 Albula, si memini, tunc mihi nomen erat.

ID. FAST. V. 635.

Sed pater ingenti medios illabitur amne
 Albula, et immota perstringit mœnia ripa.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 456.

Dii patrii Indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque mater,
 Quæ Tuscum Tiberim, et Romana palatia servas.

GEORG. I. 498.

Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens

Æque conspicitur gramine Martio,

Nec quisquam citus æque

Tusco denatat alveo. HOR. OD. III. 7.

Ad terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva,

Inter opima virûm, leni fluit agmine Tybris.

ÆN. II. 781.

With respect to its source, Pliny informs us (III. 5.) that it rises in the Apennines above Arretium, and after separating Etruria, first from Umbria, then from the Sabines and Latium, discharges itself into the sea, having been joined during a course of nearly one hundred and fifty miles by upwards of forty tributary streams. It was capable of receiving vessels of considerable burden at Rome, and small boats within a short distance of its source. (Dion. Hal. III. 44. Cf. Strab. V. 218.)

Virgil is the only author who applies the epithet of *cerulean* to the waters of the Tiber.

. Ego sum, quem pleno flumine cernis

Stringentem ripas, et pingua culta secantem,

Cæruleus Thybris. ÆN. VIII. 62.

That of *flavus* is well known to be much more general.

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis

Littore Etrusco violenter undis;

Ire dejectum monumenta regis.

HOR. OD. I. 2.

Quot frutices silvæ, quot flavas Tybris arenas,

Mollia quot Martis gramina campus habet.

OVID. TRIST. V. ELEG. 1.

Ipse pater flavis Tiberinus adhorruit undis.

ID. ad LIV.

ROMAN WAYS.

The Via Aurelia has already been treated of in the section which related to Liguria; I shall therefore proceed to describe its different stations between Rome and the point at which it entered that province; and first according to the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Roma		
Lorium	<i>Castel Guido</i>	- XII.
ad Turres	- - -	- X.
Pyrgos	<i>Sa. Severa</i>	- XII.
Castrum Novum	<i>T. Chiaruccia</i>	- VIII.
Centumcellas	<i>Civita Vecchia</i>	- V.
Martam fl.	<i>Marta</i>	- X.
Forum Aurelii	<i>T. Aureli</i>	- XIII.
Cossam	<i>Ansedonia distrutta</i>	XXV.
Lacum Prilem	<i>Lago di Castiglione</i>	XXII.
Salebronem	<i>Burriano</i>	- XII.
Manliana	- - -	- VIII.
Populonium	<i>Populonia distrutta</i>	XII.
Vada Volaterrana	<i>Vada</i>	- XXV.
Portum Herculis	<i>Livorno</i>	- XVIII.
Pisas	<i>Pisa</i>	- XII.
Fossas Papirianas	<i>Viareggio</i>	- XI.
Lunam	<i>Luni</i>	- XII.

The same according to the Table.

Roma		
Lorium	<i>Castel Guido</i>	- XII.
Bebianam	- - -	- V.
Alsium	<i>Statua</i>	- VI.
Pyrgos	<i>Sa. Severa</i>	- X.
Punicum	<i>Sa. Marinella</i>	- VI.
Castrum Novum	<i>T. Chiaruccia</i>	- VIII.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Centumcellas	<i>Civita Vecchia</i>	- IIII.
Minionem fl.	<i>Mignone</i>	
Graviscas	<i>T. di Corneto</i>	
Tabellariam	<i>Castellaccio</i>	- - V.
Forum Aurelii	<i>T. Aureli</i>	- - III.
Arminiam fl.	<i>Fiore</i>	
ad Novas	- - -	- VII.
sub Cosam	- - -	- II. ^t
Cosam	<i>Ansedonia distrutta</i>	II.
Albiniam fl.	<i>Albegna</i>	- - VIII.
Telamonem	<i>Talamone</i>	- - IIII.
Hastam	<i>Castelmarino</i>	- VIII.
Umbronem fl.	<i>Ombrone</i>	- - VIII. ^u
Salebronem	<i>Burriano</i>	- - XII.
Manliana	- - -	- VIII.
Populonium	<i>Populonia distrutta</i>	XII.
Aquas Vetulonias	- - -	- VI.
Vada Volaterrana	<i>Vada</i>	- - XXIII.
ad Fines	<i>Fino</i>	- - VI.
Piscinas	- - -	- VI.
Triturritam	- - -	- VIII.
Pisas	<i>Pisa</i>	- - XII. ^x
Fossas Papirianas	<i>Viareggio</i>	- - XV.
ad Tabernas frigidas	<i>Frigido</i>	- - XII.
Lunam	<i>Luni</i>	- - X.

MARITIME ITINERARY.

Roma			
in Portum Augusti	<i>Porto</i>	- - -	XVIII.
Pyrgos	<i>Sa. Severa</i>	- - -	XXXVIII.
Punicum	<i>Sa. Marinella</i>	- - -	III.
Castrum Novum	<i>T. Chiaruccia</i>	- - -	VII.

^t Should be XX.

^u Read II.

^x The numbers between Po-

pulonium and Pisa are nearly all corrupt. I have given them here in their corrected state.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Centumcellas	<i>Civita Vecchia</i>	- V.
Algas	- - -	- III.
Rapionem	- - -	- III.
Graviscas	<i>T. Corneto</i>	- VI.
Martanum	<i>Bocca di Marta</i>	- III.
Quintianam	- - -	- III.
Regas	- - -	- III.
Arminiam	<i>Bocca di Fiore</i>	- III.
Portum Herculis	<i>Po. Ercole</i>	- XXX.
Incitariam	- - -	- VIII.
Domitiana	- - -	- III.
Albiniam	<i>Bocca d'Albegna</i>	
Portum Telamonis	<i>Talamone</i>	
Umbronis portum	<i>Bocca d'Ombro</i>	- XII.
Lacum Prilem	<i>Lago di Castiglione</i>	XVIII.
Almam fl.	- - -	- XVIII.
Scaprim Portum	<i>Scarlino</i>	- VI.
Falesiam Portum	<i>Porto Falese</i>	- XVIII.
Populonium	<i>Porto Baratto</i>	- XII.
Vada Portum	<i>Vada</i>	- XXX.
Portum Pisanum	<i>Bocca d'Arno</i>	- XVIII.
Pisas	<i>Pisa</i>	- VIII.
Lunam	<i>Luni</i>	- XXX.

The Itinerary of Antoninus gives another route from Rome to Centumcellæ.

Roma			
in Portum ^y	<i>Porto</i>	- -	- XVIII.
Fregenas	<i>T. Maccarese</i>	-	- IX.
Alsium	<i>Statua</i>	-	- IX.
ad Turres	- - -	-	- IV.
Pyrgos	<i>Sa. Severa</i>	-	- XII.
Castrum Novum	<i>T. Chiaruccia</i>	-	- VIII.
Centumcellas	<i>Civita Vecchia</i>	-	- VIII. ^z

^y By the Via Portuensis.

^z This number should be V.

The next road to be noticed as traversing Etruria was the Via Claudia, or Clodia, which parted from the Via Flaminia a little beyond the Pons Milvius, and again from the Via Cassia a few miles farther. We are not informed by whom it was constructed, and indeed its direction is but imperfectly traced from the Itineraries; it probably fell into disuse when the central parts of Etruria, which it seems to have crossed, became unfrequented. The following stations on this route may be looked upon as certain, as far as Sena Iulia, or *Sienna*.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Roma		
ad Sextum	- - -	VI.
Careias	<i>Galera</i> - -	VIII.
ad Novas	- - -	VIII.
Sabate	<i>Bracciano</i>	
Forum Clodii	<i>Orivolo</i>	
Bleram	<i>Bieda</i> - -	XVI.
Tuscaniam	<i>Toscanella</i> - -	VIII.
Maternum	<i>Farnese</i> - -	XVII.
Saturniam	<i>Saturnia distrutta</i>	XVIII.
Rusellas	<i>Roselle</i>	
Senam Iuliam	<i>Sienna</i>	

From *Sienna*, I am inclined to think that this road proceeded to *Florence*, where it rejoined the Via Cassia, and from thence to Luca and Luna. The Antonine Itinerary indeed describes a route between the two first cities, under the name of Via Clodia.

Florentia Tuscorum	<i>Firenze</i>	
Solarium	- - -	VIII.
Hellanam	<i>Aglana</i> - -	VIII.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.		
Pistorium	<i>Pistoia</i>	-	-	VI.
ad Martis	-	-	-	VIII.
Lucam	<i>Lucca</i>	-	-	XII.

The Table, by pointing out a Forum Clodii between this last town and Luna, indicates still farther the direction of the Clodian way, and reunites it with the Aurelia; which indeed it joined nearer its origin, branching off from

Sabate	<i>Bracciano</i>			
Aquas Apollinares	<i>Bagni di Stigliano</i>			X.
Tarquinius	<i>Turchina</i>	-	-	XII.
Cossam	<i>Ansedonia distrutta</i>			XV.

In the Table we have a communication between Pisa and *Florence*.

Florentia	<i>Firenze</i>			
ad Arnum	<i>Lastra</i>			
in Portu	<i>Empoli</i>	-	-	IV.
Valvatam	<i>Fornacette</i>	-	-	XVII.
Pisas	<i>Pisa</i>	-	-	VIII.

We are equally ignorant by whom the Via Cassia was constructed. It is only known that it existed prior to Cicero's time; for he informs us in the second Philippic, that it was one of the three roads which led from Rome into Cisalpine Gaul. We have seen that it joined the Via Clodia at *Florence*. Its stations from Rome to that city are thus detailed in the Antonine Itinerary.

Roma				
Baccanas	<i>Baccano</i>	-	-	XXI.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Sutrium ^a	<i>Sutri</i> - -	XII.
Forum Cassii	<i>Vetralla</i> - -	XI.
Vulsinius	<i>Bolsena</i> - -	XXVIII.
Clusium	<i>Chiusi</i> - -	XXX.
ad Statuas	- - -	XII.
Arretium	<i>Arezzo</i> - -	XXV.
ad Fines	} <i>S. Giovanni</i>	- XXV.
seu		
Casas Cæsarianas		
Florentiam	<i>Firenze</i> - -	XXV.

The same according to the Table ^b, except that it did not pass by Arretium.

Roma			
ad Sextum	- - -	-	VI.
Veios	<i>l'Isola Farnese</i>	-	VI.
Sutrium	<i>Sutri</i> - -	-	XXI.
Vicum Matrini	<i>Capannaccia</i>	-	VI.
Forum Cassii	<i>Vetralla</i> -	-	VIII.
Aquas Passeris	<i>Bagni di Serpa</i>	-	XII.
Volsinius	<i>Bolsena</i> -	-	XIII.
Valliam fl.	<i>Paglia</i> -	-	X.
Clusium	<i>Chiusi</i> -	-	XX.
ad Novas	<i>Monte Pulciano</i>	-	IX.
ad Græcos	<i>Fojano</i> -	-	IX.
ad Ioglandem	<i>Coggiano</i> -	-	XII.
Ambram fl.	<i>Ambra</i> -	-	X.
Biturgiam	- - -	-	II.
Aquileiam	<i>Incisa</i> -	-	XIV.
Florentiam	<i>Firenze</i> -	-	XV.

^a Between *Baccano* and *Sutri* a road branched off to the right, which crossed the Mons Ciminus, and rejoined the Via Cassia near *Viterbo*. This, which is now the modern road, was

the ancient Via Cimina. Holst. Adnot. p. 67.

^b I give the distances as corrected from the Itinerary of Antoninus.

At the station called ad Novas, a road branched off to the left towards *Sienna*: if the distances are right, this communication must have been a circuitous one. I am inclined to think that it joined the Via Clodia near *Sienna*, thus connecting the central parts of Etruria with the coast.

The Table gives the following stations:

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.	
ad Novas	<i>Monte Pulciano</i>		
Manliana	<i>Pienza</i>	- -	VIII.
ad Mensulas	<i>Montalcino</i>	- -	XVIII.
Umbronem fl.	<i>Ombrone</i>	- -	XVI.
Senam Iuliam ^c	<i>Sienna</i>	- -	VI.

A communication is pointed out in the same Itinerary between *Sienna* and Populonium.

Sena Iulia	<i>Sienna</i>		
ad Sextum	<i>Filette</i>	- -	VI.
Aquas Populonas	<i>Caldane</i>	- -	XXXIII.
Manliana	- -	- -	VII.
Populonium	<i>Populonia</i>	- -	XII.

Lastly, there remains to be noticed a road which branched off from the Via Cassia at *Baccano*, and led to Ameria in Umbria, from which city it obtained the name of Via Amerina. Its divisions are thus given in the Table:

Baccanas	<i>Baccano</i>		
Nepe	<i>Nepi</i>	- - -	IX.

^c I imagine the station noticed in the next route, under the name of ad Sextum, has been omitted between the *Ombrone* and *Sienna*.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Falerios	<i>Sa. Maria Falari</i>	- V.
Castellum Amerinum	<i>Bassano</i>	- - XII.
Ameriam ^d	<i>Amelia</i>	- - IX.
Tuder	<i>Todi</i>	- - XVI.
Vettonam	<i>Bettona</i>	- - XIV.
Perusiam	<i>Perugia</i>	- - X.

^d Ameria, and the other stations between it and Perugia, are in Umbria.

SECTION VI.

UMBRIA AND PICENUM.

Origin and history of the Umbri, the Aborigines of Italy—Description of the maritime part of Umbria, occupied by the Senones—Interior divided by the Apennines—Picenum—Account of the Picentes and Prætutii—Their boundaries—Description of their country—Roman roads through both provinces.

IT will not be necessary to examine at length the different opinions which have been maintained respecting the origin of the Umbrian nation. I shall rest satisfied in the present instance with laying before the reader, in as succinct a manner as the inquiry will admit of, what may be collected from the writings of the ancients, and the researches of modern critics on this point up to the present time. The Latin writers were evidently acquainted with no people of Italy more ancient than the Umbri. “Umbri antiquissimus Italiæ populus,” says Florus. (I. 17.) “Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiæ existimatur,” affirms Pliny: (III. 14.) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus assures us, they were one of the oldest and most numerous nations of Italy. (I. 19.) It has been seen indeed from his account, as well as from Herodotus, (I. 94.) that the Umbri were already settled in that country long before the arrival

of the Tyrrhenian colony. To the Greeks they were known under the name of Ὀμβρικοί, a word which they supposed to be derived from ὄμβρος, under the idea that they were a people saved from an universal deluge ^a. (Plin. loc. cit. Sol. 8.) Dionysius has farther acquainted us with some particulars respecting the Umbri, which he derived from Zenodotus, a Greek of Trœzene, who had written a history of this people.

This author appears to have considered the Umbri as an indigenous race, whose primary seat was the country around *Rieti*, a district which, according to Dionysius, was formerly occupied by the Aborigines ^b. Zenodotus was also of opinion, that the Sabines were descended from the Umbri; and though it is customary to regard them as belonging to the Oscan race, I see no reason why the latter people, who are very indistinctly classed and defined, should not be considered as descended from the same indigenous stock: nay rather, when we consider the analogy which is allowed to exist between the several ancient dialects of Italy ^c, and the uniformity of topographical nomenclature, which may be traced

^a This Greek derivation is ridiculous; but does it not suppose a tradition of the deluge retained by this primitive race?

^b Take away the Ænotrian Aborigines, who exist only in the imagination of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and this simple statement holds good. The Umbri having extended themselves into various parts of Italy, and in particular into the Sa-

bine country; this last colony, upon becoming numerous and powerful, detaches itself from the parent race, and subsequently drives them from their possessions near *Rieti* and the adjacent district. Dion. Hal. I. 49. where see Cato's account.

^c This is sufficiently proved by Lanzi's work. See particularly t. i. p. 444.

throughout a great part of the peninsula^d, there seems to be a strong argument in favour of such an hypothesis. Considering therefore the Umbri as confessedly the most ancient people of Italy, I think we may safely ascribe to them the population of the central and mountainous parts of that country, as also the primitive form of its language, until the several communities of the Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins, successively detached themselves from the parent nation, and from a combination of different elements, adopted also different modifications of the same primeval tongue.

Connected with the origin of the ancient Umbri, there still remains a question which ought not to be entirely disregarded. It was confidently stated by Cornelius Bocchus, a Roman writer quoted by Solinus (c. 8. Serv. *Æn.* XII. 753.) and Isidorus, (*Orig.* VIII. 2.) that the Umbri were of the same race^e with

^d A few examples will best explain my meaning.

Names of places in Umbria corresponding with those of other parts of Italy.

Camertes a people.	-	-	Camars, or Clusium, in Etruria.
Camerte	} towns.	-	Cameria a town of Latium.
Camerinum			
Carsulæ on the Flaminian way.			{ Carsæoli } of the Æqui.
			{ Arsulæ }
Nuceria on the same way.	-		{ Nuceria on the Po.
			{ ——— in Campania.
Pitinum on the Pisaurus.	-		Pitinum of the Vestini.
Tifernum on the Metaurus.	-		{ Tifernus, a mountain, river, and
——— on the Tiber.	-		{ town of Samnium.
			{ Treba of the Æqui.
Trebia near the Flaminian way.			{ Trebula of the Sabines.
			{ Trebula of the Samnites.

^e The word in the original is "propago," which in its primary signification denotes the offset of a plant.

the ancient Gauls. This opinion has been rejected on the one hand by Cluverius^f and Maffei^g, while it has served on the other as a foundation for the systems of Freret^h and Bardettiⁱ, who contend for the Celtic origin of the Umbri. Taken in a certain sense, I should consider this ancient authority certainly as curious, and not undeserving of attention; that is, if we refer it to that most distant period, when the name of Gomari, immediately derived from Gomer the son of Japhet, is said to have been applied to the descendants of that patriarch, and especially to that numerous family which was afterwards classed under the denomination of Celts^k.

So far the assertion here considered may not be destitute of foundation; but any notion of affinity, either in language or customs, which may be grounded upon this passage, between the Umbri and the Celtic Gauls, who peopled France, and afterwards invaded Italy, can hardly be admitted, for it would neither be borne out by facts, nor supported by any collateral proof^l.

I have already touched upon the history of the Umbri in the last section. It was there stated, that on the arrival of the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi in Italy, and the subsequent expulsion of the Siculi then at war with the Umbri, the aboriginal inhabitants of Italy, a new colony was established in Etruria;

^f Ital. Ant. I. 593.

^g Primit. Ital. p. 115.

^h Mém. de l'Acad. t. xviii.
p. 83.

ⁱ T. ii. p. 297.

^k This tradition is recorded by Josephus, (Ant. Jud. i. 6.) and repeated by St. Jerom.

(Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.)

^l If any dependence is to be placed on the researches of Lanzi, the basis of the Umbrian as well as of the Latin dialect is Greek, which is certainly of Slavonic, if I may so term it, rather than of Celtic origin.

from which period the Etruscan nation may be said to date its origin.

As the Etruscan name began to assume the ascendancy, the Umbrian nation on the contrary declined. They were forced to withdraw from the right bank of the Tiber, while nearly the whole of northern Italy fell under the power of their more enterprising and warlike neighbours ; though an ancient Greek historian makes honourable mention of the valour of the Umbri. (Nic. Damasc. ap. Stob. VII. 89.)

It was then, probably, that the Tuscans, as we are told, possessed themselves of 300 towns previously occupied by the Umbri. (Plin. III. 5.)

A spirit of rivalry was still kept up however between the two nations ; as we are assured by Strabo, (V. 226.) that when either made an expedition into a neighbouring district, the other immediately directed its efforts to the same quarter. Both people had however soon to contend with a formidable foe in the Gauls who invaded Italy ; and after vanquishing and expelling the Tuscans from the *Po*, penetrated still farther, and drove the Umbri from the shores of the Adriatic into the mountains. These were the Senones, who afterwards defeated the Romans on the banks of the Allia, and sacked their city. The Umbri, thus reduced, appear to have offered but little resistance to the Romans ; nor is it improbable that this politic people took advantage of their differences with the Etruscans to induce them at least to remain neuter, whilst they were contending with the latter power. The submission of southern Umbria appears to have taken place A. U. C. 446. (Liv. IX. 41.) The northern and maritime

parts were reduced after the total extirpation of the Senones, about twenty-five years afterwards. (Polyb. II. 19.)

Umbria, considered under the limits which were assigned to it in the reign of Augustus, was bounded to the north by the Rubicon, which separated it from Cisalpine Gaul. The Apennines and Tiber formed its limits to the west; the Adriatic to the east. To the south it was divided from the Sabine country by the chain of mountains in which the Nar takes its rise, and by that river as far as *Terni*; from this point a line drawn south of *Otricoli*, till it meets the Tiber, will complete the demarcation of the two territories. The river *Æsis* to the south-east marked the frontier on the side of Picenum.

From the Rubicon the first town which occurs on Ariminum. the coast of Umbria is Ariminum, now *Rimini*, situated, as Pliny informs us, (III. 14.) between the rivers Ariminus and Aprusa, the *Marecchia* and Ariminus fl. *Ausa*. The former, according to Festus, gave its Aprusa fl. name to the city. After the expulsion of the Senones, Ariminum, originally an Umbrian city^m, received a Roman colony, A. U. C. 485. (Liv. Epit. XV. Vell. Pater. I. 15. Strab. V. 217.) From that time Ariminum was considered as a most important place, and the key of Italy on the eastern coast; hence we generally find a Roman army stationed there during the Gallic and Punic wars. (Polyb. II. 23. III. 77.) It was here that Tib. Sempronius Gracchus landed his army from Sicily to reinforce Scipio after the battle of the Ticinus. (Liv. XXI. 51.)

^m There are coins of this city with the epigraph ARIM and ARIMNO. Eckel. N^o. I. t. i. Lanzi, v. iii. p. 645. Sestini Class. Gen. seu Monet. Vet. p. 11.

How much importance Cæsar attached to the possession of this place has already been noticed, when speaking of the passage of the Rubiconⁿ. A second colony was afterwards sent to Ariminum by the Triumviri. Appian. Civ. Bell. IV. 3. This historian describes it as one of the principal cities of Italy. (Cf. Plut. vit. Cæs.) That it continued to flourish under Augustus is evident, from the remains of several great works erected there during the reign of that emperor.

Ariminum was besieged by a partisan of Vespa- sian during the contest between that general and Vitellius. (Tacit. Hist. III. 42.)

Crustu-
mius fl.

Beyond Ariminum we cross the river Crustumius, noticed by Lucan— (II. 406.)

Crustumiumque rapax, et junctus Sapis Isauro.

and Pliny. (III. 15.) Its present name is *Conca*.

Pisaurum. We then find *Pesaro*, the ancient Pisaurum, near
Pisaurus fl. a river of the same name. Lucan however writes it Isaurus: (loc. cit.) it is now called *la Foglia*.

This city, the origin of which is uncertain^o, became a Roman colony A.U.C. 568. (Liv. XXXIX. 44.) It was occupied by Cæsar soon after his irruption into Italy. (Civ. Bell. I. 8. Plut. Cæs.) Whether it was colonized again by Julius Cæsar or Augustus is uncertain; but inscriptions give it the title of Col. Iulia^o. The climate of Pisaurum seems to have

ⁿ See p. 96.

^o The Greek coins with the epigraph ΠΙΣΑΤΡΙΩΝ, which, if the reading be genuine, cannot be referred to any other city, have given rise to much speculation. Olivieri Lettera sopra le

Medaglie Greche di Pesaro. There are others with the epigraph PIS in Umbrian characters. Sestini doubts the authenticity of the Greek medals. Classes Gen. seu Monet. Vet. p. 11.

been in bad repute according to the opinion of Catullus, who says,

Præterquam iste tuus moribunda a sede Pisauri
Hospes, inaurata pallidior statua. LXXX.

Pisaurum is also noticed by Cic. pro L. Sext. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 15. Ptol. p. 62. About six miles farther is *Fano*, anciently Fanum Fortunæ. ^{Fanum Fortunæ.} (Plin. III. 15.) It is simply called Fanum in Cæsar. (Civ. Bell. I. 8.) and Sidon. Apollin. (I. Ep. 15.) Strabo however (V. 217.) gives it the former name, as well as Tacitus (Hist. III. 50.) and Ptolemy. (p. 62.) It became a colony under Augustus, and was distinguished by the title of Colonia Julia Fanestris. (Mel. II. 4. Vitruv. V. 1. Frontin. de Col. and various inscriptions ^{P.})—

Lætior hinc Fano recipit Fortuna vetusto.
CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 500.

Beyond Fanum we cross the Metaurus, *il Me-* ^{Metaurus, fl.} *taro*, a considerable stream, rendered ever memorable by the defeat of Asdrubal A. U. C. 545.

Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus,
Testis Metaurum flumen, et Hasdrubal
Devictus. HOR. IV. OD. 4.

..... rapidasque sonanti
Vortice contorquens undas per saxa Metaurus.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 449.

Multaque Hasdrubalis fulgebit strage Metaurus.
ID. VII. 486.

But the battle took place higher up the stream,

^P Ital. Ant. I. 606.

as we shall presently have occasion to point out.
 The next river is the Sena, now *Cesano*.

Sena fl.

Et Clanis, et Rubico, et Senonum de nomine Sena.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 455.

In lævum cecidere latus, veloxque Metaurus,
 Crustumiumque rapax, et junctus Sapis Isauro,
 Senaque.

LUCAN. I. 405.

Misus fl.

And after it the Misus of the Table, now *Nigola*.
 On the right bank of this little stream is *Sinigaglia*,
 anciently Sena, with the surname of Gallica, to dis-
 tinguish it from the Etruscan Sena.

Sena Gal-
lica.

.....qua Sena relictum
 Gallorum a populis traxit per secula nomen.

SIL. ITAL. XV. 555.

It was colonised by the Romans after they had expelled, or rather exterminated the Senones, A.U.C. 471. (Polyb. II. 19.⁴) but according to Livy (Epit. XI.) some years before that date. During the civil wars between Sylla and Marius, Sena, which sided with the latter, was taken and sacked by Pompey. (Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 88.) Mention of it occurs also in Strabo V. 217. Mel. II. 4. Liv. XXVIII. 46. Plin. III. 14. Front. de Col. Ptol. p. 62.

We must now return to the north of Umbria, in order to describe the interior of that province. On the left bank of the Sapis, *il Savio*, and towards its source, was Sarsina, which still retains its name; it was

Sapis fl.

Sarsina.

⁴ In a passage of this author quoted by Strabo, (VI. 285.) mention is made of a city called Sila, otherwise unknown, as being situated on this coast. Cluve-

rius would therefore read Sena, Ital. Ant. I. p. 608. others Spina. See the note to this passage in the French Strabo, t. ii. p. 414.

the birthplace of Plautus the comic writer, a circumstance to which he alludes in the *Mostellaria*.

Nec mihi umbra usquam est ; nisi in puteo quæpiam est.
TR. Quid ? Sarsinatis ecqua est, si Umbram non habes ?

ACT. III. sc. 2.

(Cf. Fest. v. Ploti.) Sarsina must have been once a place of note, as it gave its name to a numerous Umbrian tribe. (Polyb. II. 24.) From ancient inscriptions we may collect that it was a municipal town. (Cf. Strabo V. 217. Plin. III. 14.)

..... his Sarsina dives

Lactis.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 462.

Sic montana tuos semper colat Umbria fontes,

Nec tua Bajanas Sarsina malit aquas.

MART. IX. EP. 59.

The Sabinian tribe seems to have occupied the mountainous district near the source of the river from which it derived its appellation : some vestige of the ancient name may still be traced in that of a place called *Sapigno*. (Liv. XXXI. 2.) To the west of Sarsina was Mevaniola, now *Galeata*. (Plin. III. 14.) Vicus Titiensis is *Castel Sicchiano*^r, on the *Ma-* *recchia*. A little farther south is Mons Feretrus, now *San Leo*, the district of which goes by the name of *Monte Feltro*. Pitinum, termed Pisaurense, from its situation on the Pisaurus, (Ptol. p. 62.) is probably *Piagnino*. Sestinum, higher up on the same river, must be *Sestino*. (Plin. III. 14.) Urbinum named Metaurense, from its being seated on the Metaurus, answers to *Urbania* on the right bank of that river, and not far from its source. (Plin.

Sabinia
tribus.

Mevaniola.

Vicus Ti-
tensis.

Mons Fe-
retrus.

Pitinum
Pisau-
rense.

Sestinum.

Urbinum
Metau-
rense.

^r Holsten. Adnot. p. 89.

Urbium
Hortense.

III. 14.) Another Urbium is better known as *Urbino*, capital of a duchy of the same name. It was distinguished from the former by the epithet of Hortense. (Plin. III. 14.) Here Valens, general of Vitellius, was put to death. (Tacit. Hist. III. 62.)

Tifernum
Metau-
rense.

Tifernum Metaurense is thought to be *S. Angelo in Vado*. (Plin. III. 14.)

Petra Per-
tusa.

In the mountains to the south of *Urbino* is the defile anciently called Petra Pertusa^s, or Intercisa, now *il Furlo*, or *Sasso Forato*, from its being cut through the rock which here closes in to the edge of the river *Cantiano*. This work must doubtless be referred to the construction of the Flaminian way. It is accurately described by Procopius, (Rer. Got. II.) and poetically by Claudian.

Qua mons arte patens vivo se perforat arcu,
Admittitque viam sectæ per viscera rupis.

VI. CONS. HON. 500.

(Cf. Aur. Vict. Vespas. Paul. Diacon. IX.)

Forum
Sempronii.

Nearer the sea, and on the left bank of the Metaurus, Forum Sempronii answers to *Fossombrone*. Though mentioned by Strabo (V. 217.) among the lesser towns of Umbria, it appears to have been a municipium. (Plin. III. 14. Ptol. p. 62.)

The battle between Asdrubal and the Roman generals must have taken place near *Fossombrone*, and on the left bank of the Metaurus. Though Livy has given no precise description of the spot, it may be collected that it was in that part of the

^s The term Pertusum seems to have been specifically applied to excavations of this kind, and the name of *Pierre Pertuis*, not

uncommon in France, is doubtless a corruption of Petra Pertusa.

course of the river where it begins to be enclosed between high and steep rocks. (XXVII. 47.) Tradition has preserved a record of the event in the name of a hill between *Fossombrone* and the pass of *Furlo*, called *Monte d'Asdrubale*.

South of the Metaurus we must notice *Tuficum*, ^{Tuficum.} (Ptol. p. 62. Plin. III. 14.) which Holstenius places near *Pergola*^t on the *Cesano*. On the same river *Suasa* (Ptol. p. 62. Plin. III. 14.) is now *Castel*^{Suasa.} *Leone*, according to the abovementioned critic and Cluverius^u. *Ostra*, mentioned by the same ancient ^{Ostra.} writers, is thought to have occupied the site of *Corinaldo*^x.

Lastly, on the left bank of the river *Æsis*, now *Fiumesino*, the ancient *Æsium* is *Iesi*; (Strab. V. ^{Æsium.} 228.) it is called *Æsis* by Ptolemy. (p. 62. Plin. III. 14.) Old inscriptions give it the title of Colony.

Nearer the Apennines we find *Sentinum*, now *Sentina*, ^{Sentinum.} celebrated for the battle fought in its vicinity between the Romans and Gauls leagued with the Samnites, A. U. C. 457.; in which the consul Decius so nobly devoted himself for his country. (Liv. X. 27. Polyb. II. 19.) *Sentinum* is also noted for having held out successfully against the second triumvirate. (Dio Cass. XLVIII. Plin. III. 14. Ptol. p. 62. Front. de Col.)

Farther south *Attigio* is the *Attidium* of Pliny. ^{Attidium.} (III. 14.)

Matilica at the source of the *Æsis* retains its ^{Matilica.} name. (Plin. III. 14. Front. de Col.)

A little to the south-west we find *Pitulum*, now *Piolo*. ^{Pitulum.} (Plin. III. 14.)

^t Holsten. Adnot. p. 90.

p. 620.

^u Adnot. p. 89. Ital. Ant. I.

^x Ital. Ant. loc. cit.

Cameri-
num.

Lastly, on the borders of Picenum, *Camerino* represents the ancient Camerinum, a Roman colony, (Front. de Col.) and a city of some note. Of the identity of these two places topographers seem to entertain no doubt; but that the Camerinum and Camerte of Strabo are the same, as Cluverius has imagined ^y, will not, I think, be so readily admitted, by those who consider under what circumstances that ancient geographer has mentioned those places, and how great a blunder we must suppose him to be guilty of in noticing the same place twice, and under different appellations. (Strab. V. 227. and 228.) There are, besides, other reasons for making a distinction between these two names; which I will reserve, however, till the opportunity occurs for examining the site which ought to be ascribed to Camerte. Camerinum is mentioned by Cæsar. (Civ. Bell. I. 15. Cic. ad Attic. VIII. Ep. 12. Cato ap. Fest. v. prorsus. Plut. vit. Mar. Ptol. p. 62.) In Appian we find it named Cameria. (Civ. Bell. V. 50.)

Tifernum
Tiberi-
num.

We must now turn to that part of Umbria which lies to the west of the central chain of the Apennines. Towards the source of the Tiber, and on the left bank of that river, was Tifernum, distinguished from that circumstance by the name of Tiberinum: its site is supposed to be occupied by the modern *Città di Castello*. Tifernum is chiefly known to us from the circumstance of its being situated near the villa of the younger Pliny. In one of his letters that writer, speaking of his favourite retreat, informs us, that the neighbouring city of Tifernum had

^y Cluv. Ital. Ant. I. p. 613.

chosen him at an early age for its patron; in return for which attention he had caused a temple to be built there at his expense. (Plin. Ep. IV. 1.) In another letter to Trajan, he requests to be allowed to erect the statue of that emperor in this temple. (X. Ep. 24.) Tifernum is also mentioned by Pliny the Elder. (III. 14. and 5. Ptol. p. 62.)

Pliny has given a very interesting and minute description of the villa above mentioned in another letter. (V. Ep. 6.) Tusci Plinii villa.

He represents it as placed on the slope of a hill rising insensibly from an extensive plain, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains crowned with masses of wood; from these descended less lofty hills clothed with vines and shrubs, which, with the fertile lands and rich meadows watered by the Tiber, already navigable, completed the agreeable prospect; while cooling breezes transmitted from the Apennines, which rose behind, rendered the air pure and salubrious. Cluverius is of opinion, that the site of the Tusci of Pliny agrees with that of the town now called *Borgo di S. Sepolcro*; but I am inclined to think with a modern traveller^z, that this place is too far removed from *Città di Castello*, which unquestionably answers to Tifernum. Indeed Holstenius states positively, that the ruins of the villa are to be seen above this town^a. The spot called *Monte di Belvedere*, about two miles north of *Città di Castello*, seems from its name to present some of the features to be found in Pliny's description. But the position thus given to Pliny's villa would

^z Eustace's Classical Tour through Italy, vol. iii. p. 387. *Borgo S. Sepolcro* is nearly four-

teen miles from *Città di Castello*.

^a Adnot. p. 81.

place it in Umbria, whereas it seems natural to suppose that it belonged to Etruria. I should therefore be inclined to look for its site on the other side of the Tiber, between *Arezzo* and *Città di Castello*.

Iguvium. To the south of Tifernum, and at the foot of the main chain of the Apennines, was Iguvium, now *Eugubbio*, or more commonly *Gubbio*, a municipal town; and, as it would seem from the importance attached to its possession by Cæsar when he invaded Italy, of some consequence. (Civ. Bell. I. 12. Cf. Cic. ad Att. VII. 13. Plin. III. 14.)

..... infestum nebulis humentibus olim

Iguvium.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 459.

Some critics have supposed that the Mons Gyngynus of Strabo (V. 227.) was to be referred to Iguvium^b. But this city has acquired greater celebrity in modern times from the discovery of some interesting monuments in its vicinity in the year 1440. These consist of several bronze tables covered with inscriptions, some of which are in Umbrian, others in Latin characters^c. They have been the subject of many a learned dissertation and comment nearly from the time of their first appearance; but it was not till Lanzi had made his able and successful researches into the ancient dialects of Italy, that any clear notion could be formed of their contents. Bourguet^d, and after him Gori and Bardetti^e, con-

^b See the note to the French Strabo, t. ii. p. 176.

^c They were found at *la Scheggia*, a village and post-house near *Gubbio*, and on the road between *Foligno* and the *Furlo* pass. They were first published as fac-similes of the

originals in Dempster, (Etrur. Reg.) with a Latin translation by Lami.

^d Dissert. Mem. Cort. t. i. p. 1.

^e Della ling. dei primi abit. d'Italia, c. vii. p. 1.

sidered them as prayers offered up by the Pelasgi during those distresses into which they are said to have fallen on the decline of their power in Italy. (Dion. Hal. I. 23.) Buonarotti, in his supplement to Dempster, thought they were articles of treaty agreed upon by some of the confederate states of Umbria; while Maffei and Passeri conceived them to be statutes, or private acts of donations. But Lanzi has satisfactorily proved, I think, that they relate entirely to the sacrificial and augural rites of certain Umbrian communities. Their names are mentioned in the Tables, which thus serve to illustrate the ancient topography of a district otherwise very little known. They are Clavernia, Curiatis, Pieratis, Talenatis, Museiatis Juviscana, Casilatis, Perasnania. The first of these answers to *Chiaserna*, a Clavernia. village near *Gubbio*. The second refers to the Cu-Curia. riati of Pliny. (III. 14.) Museiatis to *Museia*, Ca-Museia. silatis to *Casilo*, both hamlets in the vicinity of Casilum. *Gubbio*. Juviscana relates probably to that town. The Tarsinates Tuscom and Tarsinates Trifor are two other tribes, which have not been hitherto satisfactorily accounted for^f. There is little doubt that these different tribes formed a confederacy; a fact which is confirmed by Cicero, who talks of the Iguvinates as having made a league, and mentions them as being allied to the Romans. (Orat. pro Balb. 20.)

^f Lanzi conceives that the Tarsinates are the same as the Tadinates, whom we shall notice presently; but I am inclined to think that the Sarsinates are rather signified under that name. They were an extensive tribe, and appear once

to have had possessions in Etruria; (Serv. ad Æn. X. 201.) to which circumstance the word Tuscom, for Tuscorum, may have reference. The Tarsinates Trifor may relate to the neighbouring city of Tifernum. Lanzi, t. iii. p. 663.

It appears also that they resorted to the temple of Jupiter Apenninus to sacrifice, as the Etruscans did to the temple of Voltumna, and the Latins to the Alban Mount. The priests are called *Fratres Aterii*, and the ceremonies described indicate a powerful and wealthy nation; since in one of the Tables a sacrifice is specified which amounts to a hecatomb^g. The temple here alluded to is marked in the Table of Peutinger, under the name of Jupiter Penninus. We know that it possessed an oracle, from the fact of its having been consulted by the emperor Claudius. (Treb. Poll. vit. Claud. c. 10.) It is also noticed by Claudian.

Templum
Jovis
Apennini.

Exsuperat delubra Jovis, saxoque minantes
Apenninigenis cultas pastoribus aras.

VI. CONS. HON. 504.

D'Anville tells us, that some vestiges of this ancient edifice are still to be seen on *Monte Sant' Ubaldo*^h.

The Eugubian Tables are particularly important to the philologist, as they are calculated to throw great light on the formation of the Latin language, and may enable us to connect it with perhaps the oldest of the ancient dialects of Italy. According to Lanzi, the language in which these Tables are written is full of archaisms and Æolic forms, and bears great affinity to the Etruscan dialectⁱ.

^g Lanzi, t. iii. p. 664.

^h Anal. Geogr. p. 98. Passeri Paralip. p. 243. Maffei Veron. Illustr. 49.

ⁱ Lanzi concludes his learned commentary on these Tables by observing, that it is but an essay, and that much remains to be

accomplished by future critics, t. iii. p. 658. In addition to the consequence which these records give to the ancient Iguvium, I may notice also its coins, which are not uncommon. The epigraph is IKUVINI. Lanzi conceives that the name

To the east of *Gubbio*, and on a branch of the Flaminian way, a place called *Sigillo* is easily identified with the Suillum of Pliny, (III. 14.) and the ^{Suillum, sive Hel-} ~~the~~ ^{villum.} Helvillum of the Itineraries.

South of *Gubbio*, and about a mile and a half from the small town of *Gualdo*, was the ancient city of Tadinum, (Plin. III. 14.) whose site was unknown ^{Tadinum.} until its ruins were discovered in 1750; when several interesting monuments were found, which sufficiently established its position in the vicinity of a church dedicated to *S. Maria Tadina*, or *in Tado*^k. In Procopius the name of this place occurs under the corrupt form of Taginæ. It was here that Totila, king of the Goths, was defeated and mortally wounded in a battle with Narses. (Got. Rer. IV.)

Still to the south, and on the Flaminian way, ^{Nuceria.} *Nocera* evidently corresponds with the ancient Nuceria Camellaria. (Plin. III. 14.) It is noticed by Strabo (V. 227.) for its manufacture of wooden vessels. (Ptol. p. 62.)

More to the west, and near the Tiber, stood Ve- ^{Vesionica.} ~~the~~ ^{sionica.} sionica, which is thought to be *Benezzzone*: a little lower, Arna probably answers to the present *Civita*-^{Arna.} ~~Arna.~~ ^{tella d'Arno.} *tella d'Arno*. (Plin. III. 14.)

His urbes Arna, et lætis Mevania campis.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 458.

In Livy the name of this city is strangely altered to Adharnabam¹, where other copies however read

of Iguvium is a corruption of Vicus Jovius, which might be pronounced Icuviu, t. iii. p. 648. Sestini Lett. Numism. t. 4. 3.

^k Borgia Dissert. dell' antica città di Tadino, in the Symbolæ

Literariæ of Gori.

¹ Lanzi supposes this to be the Etruscan name, t. ii. p. 280. See also Vermiglioli dell' antica città d'Arna Umbro-Etrusca. Perugia, 1800. 8°.

Aharnam. In Ptolemy (p. 62.) and several inscriptions, it appears as Arna.

Assisium.

A few miles to the south-east Assisium is easily recognised in the modern town of *Assisi*. (Plin. III. 14. Ptol. p. 62. Procop. Rer. Got. III.) Continuing in the same direction we find Hispellum, now *Spello*.

Hispellum.

His urbes Arna, et lætis Mevania campis,

Hispellum.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 458.

(Cf. Strabo V. 227. Ptol. p. 62.) It appears to have been a colony; (Plin. III. 14. Hygin. de Limit.) and ancient inscriptions designate it by the title of Col. Julia Hispellum^m.

Forum
Flaminii.

Farther to the east, and on the Flaminian way, was Forum Flaminii; some traces of its name are preserved in that of *Castello S. Giovanni pro Fiamma*ⁿ. It is noticed by Strabo. (V. 227. Plin. III. 14. Ptol. p. 62.) About two miles to the south, on the same road, *Foligno* is acknowledged to be the

Fulginium, ancient Fulginium, or Fulginia.

Iguvium, patuloque jacens sine mœnibus arvo

Fulginia.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 461.

This city appears once to have been of some importance, from an ancient inscription discovered there; which leads us to suppose that it was at the head of a confederacy consisting of fourteen Umbrian cities, which are severally mentioned^o.

^m Ital. Antiq. I. 628.

ⁿ Holsten. Adnot. p. 92.

^o These cities are Ameria, Assisium, Forum Flaminii, Fulginium, Hispellum, Iguvium, In-

teramna, Mevania, Narnia, Nuceria, Oriculi, Spoletium, Trebia, Tuder, Vettona. See Jacobilli Istoria di *Foligno*.

This fact is confirmed by a passage of Cicero, in which mention is made of the league of the Fulginate. (Orat. pro Balbo. 20.) Fulginium is also noticed by Appian (Civ. Bell. IV. 35.) and Pliny. (III. 14.)

At the junction of the little rivers *Timia* and *Topino*, whereof the former represents the ancient *Tinia* fl. *Tinia*,

..... *Tiniæque inglorius humor.*

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 454.

stood *Mevania*, famous for its wide extended plains *Mevania*. and rich pastures. (Colum. III. 8.)

..... ubi latis

Projecta in campis nebulas exhalat inertes,

Et sedet ingentem pascens *Mevania* taurum,

Dona Jovis.

SIL. ITAL. VI. 645.

His urbes *Arna*, et lætis *Mevania* campis.

ID. VIII. 458.

..... tauriferis ubi se *Mevania* campis

Explicat —

LUCAN. I. 473.

Strabo mentions *Mevania* as one of the most considerable towns of Umbria. (V. 227. Cf. Livy IX. 41.) Here Vitellius took post, as if determined to make a last stand for the empire against Vespasian, but soon after withdrew his forces. (Tacit. Hist. III. 55.) If its walls, as Pliny says, were of brick, it could not be capable of much resistance. (XXXV. 14.) This city is farther memorable as the birthplace of Propertius, a fact of which he himself informs us.

Umbria te notis antiqua penatibus edit.

Mentior? an patriæ tangitur ora tuæ?

Qua nebulosa cavo rorat Mevania campo,
 Et lacus æstivis intepet Umber aquis,
 Scandentisque arcis consurgit vertice murus,
 Murus ab ingenio notior ille tuo.

IV. ELEG. I. 121.

It is now an obscure village, which still however retains some traces of the original name in that of *Bevagna*.

Near the entrance of the *Tinia* into the Tiber was *Vettona*. *Vettona*, now *Bettona*. (Plin. III. 14.)

The *Tinia*^p, which, according to Strabo, was a navigable river, (V. 227.) was formed by several streams which united a little above Mevania. Of these the most copious, as well as the most celebrated, was the *Clitumnus*, the fame of which is united, by the poetry of Virgil, with the triumphs of Rome, and the Capitol itself.

Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
 Victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
 Romanos ad templa deùm duxere triumphos.

GEORG. II. 146.

Nor is it less familiar to the other Latin poets.

Qui formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco
 Integit, et niveos abluit unda boves.

PROPERT. II. ELEG. XIX. 25.

Et lavat ingentem perfundens flumine sacro
 Clitumnus taurum. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 452.

Læta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
 Iret, et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro.

JUV. SAT. XII. 13.

^p Cluverius identifies the *Tinia* with the *Topino*; but in this respect he must be mistaken. Ital. Ant. I. p. 700.

Quin et Clitumni sacras victoribus undas,
 Candida quæ Latiis præbent armenta triumphis,
 Visere cura fuit. CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 506.

..... nec si vacuet Mevania valles,
 Aut præsent niveos Clitumna novalia tauros,
 Sufficiam. STAT. SYLV. I. 4.

The beautiful description which the younger ^{Clitumni} Pliny has left us of this sacred river and its little ^{templum.} temple, the ruins of which are still to be seen near the post-house of *le Vene*^a, between *Foligno* and *Spoletto*, will be read with most pleasure in the original. (VIII. Ep. 8.) The stream rises close to the temple, and still bears the name of *Clitunno*.

Somewhat north of the source of the Clitumnus is the little town of *Trevi*, which represents the ancient ^{Trebia.} Trebia. (Plin. III. 14.) About ten miles to the south of this place we find Spoletium, *Spoletto*, colo- ^{Spoletium.} nised A. U. C. 512. (Vell. Pater. I. 14.) Twenty-five years afterwards it withstood, according to Livy, (XXII. 9.) the attack of Hannibal, who was on his march through Umbria, after the battle of the Trasymene. This resistance had the effect of checking the advance of the Carthaginian general towards Rome, and compelled him to draw off his forces into Picenum. It should be observed, however, that Polybius makes no mention of this attack upon *Spoletto*; but expressly states, that it was not Hannibal's intention to approach Rome at that time, but to lead his army to the sea-coast. (III. 86.) Spoletium appears to have ranked high among the municipal towns of Italy, but it suffered severely from pro-

^a Venuti Osservazioni sopra il fiume Clitunno del suo Culto e Tempio. Roma, 1773. 4°.

scription in the civil wars of Marius and Sylla. (Flor. III. 21. Appian. Civ. Bell. V. 33. Cic. Orat. pro Balb.) This city is likewise mentioned by Strabo, V. 227. Suet. Vespas. 1. Plin. III. 14. Amm. Marcell. XIII. Zonar. Ann. II. Cassiodor. II. Ep. 37. Ptol. p. 62.

South-west of *Spoletto*, and on another branch of the Flaminian way, was *Carsulæ*, the ruins of which are to be seen between *San Gemino* and *Acqua Sparta*. Holstenius informs us that this ancient site still retains the name of *Carsoli*^r. *Carsulæ* is noticed by Strabo amongst the principal towns of Umbria. (V. 227. Cf. Tacit. Hist. III. 60. Plin. III. 14.)

About eight miles to the north-west, and near the Tiber, was *Tuder*, now *Todi*, formerly one of the most important cities of Umbria, and famous for its worship of Mars^s.

. Gradivicolam celso de colle Tudertem.

SIL. ITAL. IV. 222.

. et haud parci Martem coluisse Tudertes.

ID. VIII. 464.

Its situation on a lofty hill rendered it a place of great strength.

. excelso summum qua vertice montis
Devexum lateri pendet Tuder.—

ID. VI. 645.

^r Adnot. p. 99.

^s Among the ruins of this ancient city are to be seen those of a temple of the Doric order, which is supposed to have been that of Mars. (Micali Tav. 12. and 13.) Tuder boasts also of

numerous coins with the epigraph TUTERE in retrograde Umbrian characters. On the reverse of some is the aboriginal emblem of the grasshopper. Passeri Paralip. in Dempst. Libr. p. 176. Lanzi, t. ii. p. 29.

(Cf. Strab. V. 227.) Tudor is never mentioned in the wars of the Umbrians with the Romans; but we may collect from a fragment of the historian Sisenna, preserved by Nonnius, (II. 472.) that it was very early admitted to an alliance with Rome^t. We learn from inscriptions, that Tudor became afterwards a colony of that city. It was taken by Crassus during the civil wars. (Plut. Crass. et C. Mar. Cf. Plin. III. 14. Ptol. p. 65. Procop. Rer. Got. II.)

South of Tudor, and also near the Tiber, the small episcopal town of *Ameria* represents Ameria, one of ^{Ameria.} the most considerable and ancient cities of Umbria. According to Cato, who is quoted by Pliny, (III. 14.) Ameria could boast of an origin greatly anterior to that of Rome, having been founded, it is said, 964 years before the war with Perseus, or 1045 years before the Christian era. Cicero, in his defence of the celebrated Roscius, who was a native of Ameria, has frequent occasion to speak of that town. From him we learn its municipal rank, and from Frontinus, that it became a colony under Augustus.

It is recorded in a verse of the Georgics.

Aut Amerina parant lentæ retinacula viti.

I. 265.

And by Silius.

. . . His populi fortes Amerinus—— VIII. 462.

(Cf. Strab. V. 228. Plut. C. Mario. Fest. v. Ameria. Ptol. p. 65.)

^t This alliance is no other, I believe, than the “Camertium” alluded to by Cicero; (Orat. pro Balbo.) it being highly probable that Tudor belonged to the Camertes, whom I shall shortly have occasion to mention.

Camerte.

Between the two last mentioned cities I would place the Camerte of Strabo, of which I have already spoken under the head of Camerinum. It is true, that in order to establish this point, we must suppose the text of Strabo to be corrupt; but unless some such solution of the difficulty be adopted, we must confound Camerinum and Camerte, as Cluverius has done, to the manifest injury of the character of Strabo as an accurate and judicious author. I am in this respect only following the suggestion of a learned Italian critic^u, who has written a dissertation expressly on this question. He supposes that what relates to Camerte in Strabo is misplaced, and that this city ought to have been mentioned together with those towns which the geographer enumerates as being to the left of the Flaminian way, that is to say, with Ameria and Tuder^x. So far, I think, his reasoning is very plausible; but in fixing Camerte at a place called *Camero*^y, between *Spolet* and *Foligno*, he contradicts his own supposition; for that place would certainly stand on the right of the Roman way just mentioned. By placing Camerte at *Camarata*, about half way between *Amelia* and *Todi*, this error will be rectified, and the proposed emendation of Strabo will acquire considerable support. What remains to be said will tend, I think,

^u Francesco Dini de Antiquit. Umbrorum, deque Camerio ac Camertibus. Of which an abstract may be seen in the French Strabo. Eclairciss. N^o. 27. p. 60. vol. ii.

^x I would propose the following reading of the whole passage.

Ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ (Φλαμινίας)

νίας) βαδίζοντι ἐκ τῶν Ὀκρίκλων εἰς Ἀρίμινον, Ἰντέραμνα ἐστὶ, καὶ Σπολίτιον καὶ Αἴσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀρίζουσι τὴν Πικεντίνην ὄρεσι· κατὰ δὲ θάτερα μέρη, Ἀμερία τε καὶ Καμέρτη καὶ Τυῦδερ εὐερκής πόλις.

^y This place may be the *Kameria* of Appian. (Civ. Bel. V. 50.)

still farther to establish a distinction between Camerte and Camerinum.

We hear of the Camertes in history as a powerful Umbrian tribe, and from the mention of the circumstance of Clusium in Etruria having formerly borne the name of Camers, (Liv. X. 25.) it is naturally supposed that they once held that and other cities on the right bank of the Tiber. We first hear, however, of this people as belonging to Umbria, in Livy, who informs us, (X. 36.) that the spies who were sent to explore the country beyond the Ciminian forest, were said to have penetrated as far as the Camertes Umbri, and to have negotiated a treaty of alliance with them. These are doubtless the same as the *Καμερτίοι* of Polybius, who mentions an engagement having taken place in their country between the Romans and the combined forces of the Gauls and Samnites, in which the former were defeated^z. (II. 19.) Cicero speaks of the most just and sacred league of the Camertes; (Orat. pro Balb. 20. and 22. Cf. Sallust. Bell. Catil. 27. Plin. III. 14.) and Sil. Italicus mentions the Camertes in conjunction with the people of Ameria.

. . . His populi fortes Amerinus, et armis

Vel rastris laudande Camers.

VIII. 462.

It is pretty clear from the above citations, that the Camertes and the people of Camerinum, who are always called Camerini, ought not to be confounded. But there is a passage that Cluverius has omitted to notice, which will render this still more

^z Livy seems to place the scene of this engagement in the territory of Clusium; but he

allows that other authors stated it to have occurred in Umbria. (X. 26.)

apparent ; it is found in Val. Max. (VI. 5.) From him we learn, that P. Claudius, who was consul A. U. C. 484, in a war with the Umbrians took the city of Camerinum, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery ; but some doubts having arisen with regard to the justice of this war, the Camerini were ransomed and settled on Mount Aventine by order of the people. These are not therefore the Camertes, who many years before had formed, as I have already stated, an alliance with Rome, and were always on friendly terms with that city. (Cf. Liv. XXVIII. 45.) I may conclude by observing, that I am justified in the position I have assigned to Camerte and the Camertes, from their proximity to Clusium the ancient Camers^a, and the Ciminian forest. (Liv. IX. 36.)

Returning to the Flaminian way and the valley of the Nar, we find Interamna, so called from its being
 Interamna. situated between two branches of that river : (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 5.) hence also the inhabitants of this city were known as the Interamnates Nartes, to distinguish them from those of Interamna on the Liris, a city of New Latium. (Plin. III. 14.) If an ancient inscription cited by Cluverius^b be genuine, Interamna, now represented by the well known town of *Terni*, was founded in the reign of Numa, or about eighty years after Rome. It is noted afterwards as one of the most distinguished cities of municipal rank in Italy. This circumstance, however, did not save it from the calamities of civil war,

^a I would restore to Camerte the coins which have been hitherto attributed to Clusium, that city having changed its name long before money was coined in Italy. They have on

one side the epigraph KAM in Etruscan characters ; on the reverse a huntsman and a boar. See Arigoni Num. Etrur. t. v. Num. Popul. Antiq. t. xviii.

^b Ital. Ant. I. p. 635.

during the disastrous struggle between Sylla and Marius. (Flor. III. 21.) The plains around Interamna, which were watered by the Nar, are represented as the most productive in Italy; (Tacit. Ann. I. 79.) and Pliny assures us, that the meadows were cut four times in the year. (XVIII. 28.) We also find this city mentioned by Strabo. (V. 227. Tacit. Hist. III. 61. Ptol. p. 65.)

Lower down on the Nar is Narnia, more anciently called Nequinum, now *Narni*. This change of name took place, according to Livy, (X. 9. and 10.) after the town had been taken by the Romans, when it received a colony with the view of serving as a point of defence against the Umbri. This took place A. U. C. 454. (Plin. III. 14.) Many years after we find it incurring the censure of the senate for its want of zeal during the emergencies of the second Punic war. (Liv. XXIX. 15.) The situation of Narnia on a lofty hill, at the foot of which flows the Nar, has been described by several poets.

Celsa dehinc patulum prospectans Narnia campum
Regali calcatur equo; rarique coloris
Non procul amnis abest urbi; qui nominis auctor,
Ilice sub densa silvis arctatus opacis,
Inter utrumque jugum tortis anfractibus albet.

CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 515.

..... duro monti per saxa recumbens

Narnia—

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 458.

Narnia sulphureo quam gurgite candidus amnis
Circuit, ancipiti vix adeunda jugo.

*

*

*

*

Sed jam parce mihi, nec abutere Narnia Quinto;
Perpetuo liceat sic tibi ponte frui.

MART. VII. EP. 92.

In this last passage Martial alludes to the noble bridge raised over the Nar by Augustus, the arch of which was said to be the highest known. (Procop. Rer. Got. I.) Narnia is also recorded by Strabo. (V. 227. Tacit. Hist. III. 63. Ptol. p. 65.)

Ocriculum. The last town we have to notice is Ocriculum, now *Otricoli*, situated a few miles from the left bank of the Tiber. According to Livy, it was the first city of Umbria which voluntarily submitted to Rome. (IX. 41.) Here Fabius Maximus took the command of the army under Servilius, and bade that consul approach his presence without lictors, in order to impress his troops with a due sense of the dictatorial dignity. (Liv. XXII. 11.) Ocriculum suffered severely during the social war. (Flor. III. 18.) In Strabo's time it appears, however, still to have been a city of note; (V. 227.) a fact which is confirmed by the numerous remains of antiquity which have been extracted from its ruins. From Cicero we collect, that Milo had a villa in its vicinity. (Orat. pro Mil.) Passages relating to this city will be found in Tacit. Hist. III. 78. Plin. III. 14. Plin. Jun. VI. Ep. 25. Dion. Hal. ap. Steph. Byz. Ptol. p. 65. Amm. Marcell. XVI.

There are a few other towns of Umbria whose sites remain as yet unknown. Larolum, mentioned by Strabo (V. 227.) as being on the Flaminian way between Ocriculum and Narnia, is noticed by no other author, nor even by the Itineraries; from whence it is commonly supposed that the text of Strabo with regard to this word is corrupt.

Casuentum, Dola, surnamed Salentina; Forum Julium, surnamed Concubium; Forum Bremitii, Pestinum, Vindinum, and Viventum, recorded by

Pliny as existing in his day, with several other cities of which no vestiges remained, (III. 14.) are all equally unknown.

PICENUM.

Little has been ascertained respecting the Picentes, except the fact that they were a colony of the Sabines, established under the auspices of the ancient Picus^c, a well known character in the Latin mythology, who transmitted his name to his colonists.

Hoc Picus, quondam nomen memorabile ab alto
Saturno, statuit genitor, quem carmine Circe
Exutum formæ volitare per æthera jussit,
Et sparsit plumis croceum fugientis honorem.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 441.

(Cf. Strab. V. 240. Plin. III. 13. Fest. de Samnit.) But the Sabines were not apparently the first or sole possessors of the country. The Siculi, Liburni, and Umbri, according to Pliny, (III. 13.) the Pelasgi, as Silius Italicus reports, (VIII. 445.) and the Tyrrheni, according to Strabo, (V. 241.) all at different periods formed settlements in that part of Italy.

The conquest of Picenum cost the Romans but little trouble: it was effected about 484. U. C. not long after the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy; (Liv. Epit. XV. Flor. I. 19. Eutrop. II.) when 360,000 men, as Pliny assures us, submitted to the Roman authorities. (III. 13.) From the same writer we learn, that Picenum constituted the fifth region in the division of Augustus. This province was con-

^c The name of this people is thought to occur in the Eugubian Tables under the dia-

lectic form Piquier Martier, which Lanzi renders by Picentium Martiorum, vol. iii. p. 661.

sidered as one of the most fertile parts of Italy. (Liv. XXII. 9. Strab. V. 240.) The produce of its fruit-trees was particularly esteemed.

Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo.

HOR. SAT. II. 4.

Quid quum Picenis excerpens semina pomis

Gaudes ?

ID. II. 3.

..... de corbibus iisdem

Æmula Picenis, et odoris mala recentis.

JUV. SAT. XI. 72.

It may be considered as limited to the north by the river Æsis. To the west it was separated from Umbria and the Sabine country, by the central chain of the Apennines. Its boundary to the south was the river Matrinus, if we include in this division the Prætulii, a small tribe confined between the Matrinus and Helvinus.

Æsis fl.

Beginning from the river Æsis, now *Fiumesino*,

Ante, ut fama docet, tellus possessa Pelasgis :

Queis Æsis regnator erat, fluvioque reliquit

Nomen ; et a sese populos tum dixit Asilos.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 445.

Ancona.

the first city we have to notice on the coast is Ancona, which still retains its name; supposed generally to be a word of Greek origin, and expressive of the angular form of the promontory on which the town is placed. (Mel. II. 4. Procop. Rer. Got. II.) This bold headland was called Cumerium promontorium; its modern name is *Monte Comero*, and sometimes *Monte Guasco*.

Cumerium
promonto-
rium.

The foundation of Ancona is ascribed by Strabo (V. 241.) to some Syracusans, who were flying from

the tyranny of Dionysius; a fact which is confirmed by Juvenal.

Ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon.

SAT. IV. 40.

These Syracusans of Strabo are by many critics supposed to be the same as the Siculi of Pliny, to whom that writer attributes the origin of this city. (Plin. III. 13. Solin. VIII.) But on the other hand it is contended, that the foundation of Ancona must be anterior to the reign of Dionysius, since it is noticed in the Periplus of Scylax (p. 12.) as belonging to the Umbri; and therefore that the Siculi of Pliny must be that ancient race who settled in Italy at a very remote period, and afterwards passed over into Sicily^d. Leaving this question to be discussed at another opportunity, I shall go on to observe, that Ancona is spoken of in Livy, as a naval station of some importance in the wars of Rome with the Illyrians. (XLI. 1. Tacit. Ann. III. 9.)

Illinc Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.

LUCAN. II. 402.

It was occupied by Cæsar soon after his passage of the Rubicon. (Civ. Bell. I. 11. Cic. ad Fam. XVI. 12.) It continued to be a port of consequence in Trajan's time, if we may judge from the works erected by that emperor, which are still extant there.

The colonization of Ancona by the Romans is a

^d Bardetti, part ii. c. 10. Olivieri della fond. di Pesaro dissert. p. 13. Gius. Colucci Delle antichità Picene, t. i. diss. I. The coins of this city, with

the epigraph ΑΓΚΩΝ are a certain proof of its Greek origin. Mionnet. Med. Ant. t. i. p. 215. Sestini Class. Gen. seu Monet. Vet. p. 12.

fact which we learn from Pliny ; but he does not mention the time at which the event took place. (III. 13. Front. de Col. Ptol. p. 65.) Strabo reports that its territory was very fertile in corn and wine. (V. 241.) Its purple dye is celebrated by Silius Italicus.

Stat fucare colus nec Sidone vilior Ancon,
Murice nec Libyco. VIII. 438.

Besides the passage already quoted from Juvenal, we also learn from Catullus, that Venus was the favourite deity of Ancona.

Nunc, o cæruleo creata ponto,
Quæ sanctum Idalium, Uriosque apertos,
Quæque Ancona, Cnidumque arundinosam
Colis. XXXVI.

About ten miles farther on the coast was Numana, now *Humana*, founded, according to Pliny, by the Siculi already mentioned. (III. 13. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 62.)

Hic et quos pascunt scopulosæ rura Numanæ.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 432.

Misio fl. Crossing the little river Misio, *il Muscone*, we
Potentia. find Potentia, whose ruins exist about a mile from
the present *Porto di Recanati*, and close to a monastery which preserves the name of the ancient city
Potentia fl. in that of *S^a. Maria di Potenza*^e. The river on
which it stands seems to have borne the same name
as the town, and is now called *Potenza*.

We hear of a Roman colony being sent to Po-

^e Holsten. Adnot. p. 134.

tentia 568. A. U. C. (Liv. XXXIX. 44. Vell. Pater. I. 15.) Mention is also made of it by Cicero (de Harusp. Resp. XXVIII. Strab. V. 241. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 13. Ptol. p. 62.) The river which follows is the Flusor of the Table, now *Chiento*. It is at Flusor fl. the mouth of this river that Cluverius would place the ancient Cluana, mentioned by Mela (II. 4.) and Cluana. Pliny (III. 13.) among the maritime towns of Picenum; but more modern topographers^f concur in fixing its site at *Sant' Elpidio*, about three miles from the sea, and the mouth of the little river Tinna, Tinna fl. which still preserves the name under which it is mentioned in the Table.

More to the south, and about five miles from the sea, was Firmum Picenum, so termed, probably, to Firmum Picenum. distinguish it from some other city of the same name now unknown^g: (Strab. V. 241.) it was colonised, as Vell. Paterculus informs us, towards the beginning of the first Punic war. (I. 14. Cf. Liv. XXVII. 10.) Firmum was occupied by Cæsar on his march from Ariminum. (Cn. Pomp. Ep. ad Dom. Ep. ad Att. VIII. Ep. 12.)

Firmum is mentioned besides by Val. Max. VIII. 15. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 47. Ptol. p. 62. Mel. II. 4. Procop. Rer. Got. II. Ancient inscriptions give it the title of Col. Augusta Firma. The modern town of *Fermo* is yet a place of some note in the *Marca d'Ancona*; and the *Porto di Fermo* answers to the Castellum Firmanorum. Castellum Firmanorum of Pliny. (III. 13. Strab. V. 241.)

^f Notizie dell' antica Cluana oggi *Sant' Elpidio*, e di molte altre città dell' antico Piceno, raccolte da Andrea Bacci. Ma-

cerata, 4^{to}. 1716.

^g Mich. Catalani Orig. e Antich. Fermane, part. ii. p. 32.

Cupra Ma-
ritima.

Next follows Cupra, termed Maritima, to distinguish it from another city known by the name of Cupra Montana.

From Strabo we learn that this was an establishment of the Etruscans, who worshipped Juno under the name of Cupra^h. (V. 241.)

Et queis litoreæ fumant altaria Cupræ.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 433.

This city is also mentioned by Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 13. Ptol. p. 62. and several inscriptions, one of which informs us, that the temple of the goddess was restored by the emperor Hadrianⁱ. This inscription, which was found at an obscure place on the coast named *Grotte a mare*, seems to fix there the site of this ancient city^k; but the Italian antiquaries incline to place it at *Marano*, in the vicinity of *Ripa transona*^l.

Castrum
Truenti-
num.
Truentus
fl.

Truentum, or Castrum Truentinum, must be placed near the mouth of the river Truentus, *il Tronto*. But no vestiges of this city remain, and it may be doubted on which bank of the river it stood. It seems probable, however, that it should be the

^h I see no reason for doubting, as some critics have done, the accuracy of Strabo's information in the above particular. It appears from Varro that *Cupra* was also a Sabine word, synonymous with *bonus* in Latin; (de Ling. Lat. VI.) but it does not follow therefore that Cupra was not an Etruscan deity, and that the city and temple consecrated to her were not founded by that nation. It may reasonably be supposed that

Cupra was an aboriginal name, and therefore common, as many other words doubtless were, to the Sabines and Tuscans. See the authors cited in a note to the French Strabo, t. ii. p. 238.

ⁱ Ital. Antiq. I. p. 734.

^k Id. I. p. 734. Holsten. Adnot. p. 137.

^l Pacciaudi Antichità di Ripa transona, p. 60. Gius. Colucci Cupra Maritima Ant. Città Picena Illustrata, part. i. s. 2. p. 17.

Porto d'Ascoli, or *Monte Brandone*, a little farther up, on the left bank of the *Tronto*^m. The latter site seems rather confirmed by Silius Italicus.

Quique Truentinas servant cum flumine et arces.

VIII. 434.

Pliny informs us, that this city was the only remaining establishment of the Liburni, a well known Illyrian nation, in Italy. According to the same writer, they once occupied a considerable extent of territory on this coastⁿ. (III. 13.) *Castrum Truentinum* is noticed by Strabo, V. 241. Pomp. ad Dom. Ep. Cic. ad Att. VIII. 12. Mel. II. 4. Front. de Col.

After crossing three small rivers called *Albulates*, *Suinus*, and *Helvinus*, by Pliny, (III. 13.) now *Vibrata*, *Sino*, and *Salinello*, we come to *Castrum Novum*, the last maritime city of Picenum to the south. This city, according to Cluverius and Holstenius, occupied the site called *San Flaviano* at the mouth of the *Tordino*, the *Batinus* of Pliny. (III. 13.) But, according to the measurements of D'Anville, it must have been situated nearer to the town of *Giulia Nova*, which has risen out of the ruins of the ancient city^o. *Castrum Novum* was a Roman colony sent out, according to Vell. Pater. I. 14. A.U.C. 479. (Cf. Liv. Epit. XI. Plin. III. 13.)

Albulates
fl.

Suinus fl.

Helvinus fl.

Castrum

Novum.

Batinus
fl.

^m D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. p. 181.

ⁿ It is chiefly on this information of Pliny that Freret has grounded his system of the Illyrian colonies in Italy. He conceives that these Liburni, as well as all the others, came

by land. But would it not be more natural to suppose, that the Liburni, as a maritime people, had crossed over from the opposite coast of Dalmatia? See Mém. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 75.

^o Anal. Geogr. part ii. p. 18.

Vomanus
fl.
Matrinus
fl.

Beyond is the river Vomanus, now *Vomano*, (Plin. III. 13.) and the Matrinus, *la Piomba*. (Strab. V. 241. Ptol. p. 62.)

We must now return to the north of Picenum, in order to examine the different places situated in the interior of that province.

Cupra
Montana.

On the left bank of the *Æsis* was Cupra, which, from its situation among mountains, was termed Montana. Its position has long been a controverted point among topographers^p, but the Italian antiquaries seem to concur in fixing it near the present *Masaccio d'Iesi*^q. Pliny (III. 13.) and Ptolemy (p. 62.) are the only authors who have recorded this ancient city. A few miles to the south was

Cingulum.

Cingulum, whose name is but little changed in that of *Cingolo*. It surrendered to Cæsar, though Labienus, then a great partisan of Pompey, had raised and constructed it at his own expense. (Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 15. Cic. Ep. ad Att. VII. 11.

..... celsis Labienum Cingula saxa
Miserunt muris— SIL. ITAL. X. 34.

Plin. III. 13.) Considerably to the north-west, and near Ancona, we easily recognise in the modern town of *Osimo* the ancient Auximum, a Roman colony; (Vell. Pater. I. 15.) and from its strength one of the most important places of Picenum. (Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 12. Plut. vit. Pomp.)

Auximum.

..... admotæ pulsarunt Auximon alæ.
LUCAN. II. 466.

^p Cluver. Ital. Antiq. I. p. 741.

^q Sarti de Ant. Pic. Civit. Cupra Montana, deque Massa-

tio. Raccolt. Caloger. t. xxix. Fontanini del sito di Cupra Montana, e Giafranc. Lancelotti, Cupra Montana.

The earliest mention of Auximum is found in Livy, (XLI. 27.) where we learn, that the censors of Rome A. U. C. 578. ordered the walls of that city to be built, and shops to be constructed round its Forum. This was thirty years before it became a colony. In the time of Procopius it was a large city, and capital of the province. (Rer. Got. II.) Auximum is also noticed by Strabo. (V. 241. Plin. III. 13. Ptol. p. 62.)

Ricina, which appears to have become a colony in Ricina. the reign of Severus under the name of Helvia Ricina^r, is placed by Holstenius about two or three miles from Macerata, near the right bank of the *Potenza*^s. (Plin. III. 13.) Higher up, on the left bank of the same river, at a place called *Montecchio*^t, are Treia. the ruins of Treia, a town of municipal rank, according to ancient inscriptions, and noted by Pliny. (III. 13.) Nearly opposite to this last place, and on the other side of the *Potenza*, stood Pollentia, men- Pollentia. tioned only by Pliny. (III. 13.) Holstenius informs us, that some remains of this city were to be seen in his time on the site of the present *Monte Melone*^u. Higher up on the same bank of the *Potenza*, Septem- Septem-
peda answers to the present town of *San Severino*.^{peda.} (Plin. III. 13. Strab. V. p. 241.) Tollentinum is Tollenti-
easily recognised in the modern *Tolentino*, on the^{num.} left bank of the *Chienti*. (Plin. III. 13.) Ancient inscriptions shew that these two last towns were of municipal rank^x. Urbs Salvia is now *Urbisaglia*,^{Urbs Salvia.} about five miles to the east of *Tolentino*. (Plin. III. 13. Ptol. p. 62. Balb. de Limit. prov. Pic.)

^r Cluv. Ital. Ant. I. p. 739.

^u Adnot. p. 138.

^s Adnot. p. 137.

^x Ital. Antiq. I. 738-9.

^t Holsten. Adnot. loc. cit.

Pausulæ is placed by Holstenius at *Monte dell' Olmo*^y, about ten miles north-east of *Urbisaglia*. To the south of this last city was Faleria, now *Faleroni*^z. (Plin. III. 13. Balb. de Limit. Picen.)

Faleria.

Novana.

The Novana of Pliny (III. 13.) is thought by Cluverius to be *Monte di Nove*^a.

Asculum
Picenum.

Asculum Picenum, so named to distinguish it from the Asculum of Apulia, is now *Ascoli*. This town is described by Strabo as a place of great strength; surrounded by walls and inaccessible heights.

— et inclemens hirsuti signifer Ascli.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 439.

It was the first city to declare against the Romans when the social war broke out, and its example was followed by the whole of Picenum. Asculum sustained in the course of that war a long and memorable siege against Pompey, who finally however compelled the place to surrender, and caused several of the chiefs of the rebels to be beheaded. (Liv. Epit. LXXVI. Vell. Pater. II. 21. Flor. III. 18. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 38. Plut. vit. Pomp.) It might be owing to this latter circumstance that this town offered no resistance to Cæsar in his irruption into Italy. (Civ. Bell. I. 15.)

..... depellitur arce

Lentulus Asculea.

LUCAN. II. 469.

We learn from Pliny that Asculum was a Roman

^y Adnot. p. 137.

^z For an account of a curious inscription found here, see Visconti Museo Pio Clem. vol. ii. p. 35. We learn from it that

Faleria had a Capitolium, a Forum properly so called, a Forum Pecuarium, colleges, &c. It is of the time of Hadrian.

^a Ital. Ant. I. p. 741.

colony, and considered as the chief city of the province^b. (III. 13.)

Cicero mentions Barrus, a native of Asculum, as a most eloquent orator. (Orat. Brut. s. 46.)

What remains of Picenum may be classed under the head of the territory of the Prætutii, though a subdivision is sometimes made of it by ancient geographers into the Ager Palmensis, Prætutianus, and Prætutii. Hadrianus; (Plin. III. 13.) but it would be difficult to attempt now to define the boundaries which ought to be assigned to each.

Of the Prætutii, indeed, scarce any thing is known but that they were a different people from the Picentes. That their territory was fertile and celebrated for its wine, we learn from more than one author; (Plin. XIV. 6. and 7. Dioscor. V. 19.) and we know that Hannibal availed himself of these resources, when he led his army through this district on his way to the south, after his campaign in Etruria; (Polyb. III. 89. Liv. XXII. 9.) as did Claudius Nero, when proceeding by forced marches to join his colleague who was opposed to Asdrubal. (Liv. XXVII. 43.)

Tum, qua vitiferos domitat Prætutia pubes,

Læta laboris, agros.

SIL. ITAL. XV. 571.

Ptolemy (p. 62.) assigns to the Prætutii the city of Interamna, which in consequence was usually called Prætutiana^c, to distinguish it from three Interamna Prætutiana.

^b The coins of Asculum, in alliance with the neighbouring city of Hadria, have the epigraph ΑΣ. Sestini Class. Gen. seu Monet. Vet. p. 12.

^c It may be remarked, that the name of Prætutia was cor-

rupted in the middle ages into Aprutium, and this again into Abruzzo, which has ultimately become that of the Neapolitan province in which the modern city is included.

other cities of the same name in other parts of Italy. From a passage in Frontinus it may be collected, that this city was first a municipium, and afterwards a Roman colony. (de Agr. Limit.) Its modern name is *Teramo*, situated between the small rivers *Viziola* and *Turdino*. The remains of antiquity which have been discovered here, prove the importance of this ancient city ^d.

Beregra.

Beregra is another town of the Prætutii, according to Ptolemy. (p. 62.) It is also noticed by Pliny, (III. 13.) and we farther know that it was colonized by the Romans. (Balbus de Limit. prov. Picen.) The site of Beregra is very undetermined. Cluverius inclines to *Civitella del Tronto*; but this appears to me to exceed the limits that may fairly be assigned to the Prætutii: I would rather look for it south of Interamna.

Hadria.

We have yet to speak of Hadria, a city of considerable note, and which appears to have formed with its territory, known anciently by the name of Hadrianus Ager, a little independent state, before it became a Roman colony, and was included in the province of Picenum. The origin of this city, like that of its Venetian namesake, appears undetermined, or lost in obscurity; but the best critics seem agreed in considering the latter as the metropolis of the Hadria with which we are at present concerned. It is true that there is no passage in any ancient author which decidedly asserts this fact; but it may be implied, I conceive, from the general tenor of the Etruscan history. It was stated in the last section,

^d Romanelli Antica Topografia Istorica del Regno di Napoli, part. iii. p. 298. et seq.

that the Tuscans, having extended themselves first north of the Apennines, and afterwards about the *Po* and its mouths, obtained possession of the settlements originally formed by the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, among which Hadria is to be numbered. From this part of Italy we know that they were driven in process of time by the Gauls; but as they were still masters of the sea, it is probable that they retired to other settlements which they might have formed to the south. We have seen indeed from Strabo and Pliny, that they had possessions on the coast of Picenum; and though the Hadria of that province is never ascribed to them by any ancient authority, its numerous coins with the legend in Etruscan characters may be admitted as sufficient evidence of that fact^e. Some of these coins, however, have epigraphs in Greek characters, which circumstance has given rise to the notion, that this city must have received subsequently a colony of Greeks^f: and this may be the settlement which some accounts ascribed to Dionysius of Syracuse. (Tzet. in Lycophr. Alex.) It is more probable, however, as in the case of Ancona, that these were only refugees, who fled from the persecution of the tyrant: among them was the historian Philistus, who, as Plutarch informs us, composed the greater part of his works in Hadria, on his being banished from Syracuse. (Plut. vit. Dion.^g) About a century later, we hear of a Roman colony being sent to Hadria. (Liv. Epit. XI.

^e See Lanzi, t. iii. p. 643. Mionnet. Med. Ant. I. p. 216. Romanelli, part. iii. p. 308.

^f Mazocchi Tab. Heracl. Prodr. diatr. I. c. 5.

^g This fact may be referred

to the year 364. U. C. about the time of the capture of Rome by the Gauls; and consequently belongs to the Picene Hadria, as the other Hadria was at that time reduced to insignificance.

and XXVII. 10.) This city was situated at some distance from the sea, between the rivers Vomanus and Matrinus ;

..... stat humectata Vomano

Hadria—

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 439.

but nearer to the latter, at the mouth of which was its emporium, which now takes the name of the modern city as the *Porto d'Atri*. (Strab. V. 241. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 13. Ptol. p. 6.) It seems generally allowed, that the emperor Hadrian was descended from a family originally of this city. (Aur. Vict. Hadr. Ælian. Spart. Hadr.^h)

ROMAN ROADS THROUGH UMBRIA AND PICENUM.

The principal road we have to notice in these provinces is the Via Flaminia, together with its several branches. It was constructed by C. Flaminius when censor, A. U. C. 533.ⁱ (Liv. Epit. XX.) and was carried in the first instance from Rome to Narnia; from thence it branched off in two directions to Mevania and Spoletum, uniting however again at Fulginia: from this place it continued its course to

^h For an account of inscriptions and other monuments found in Hadria, see Romanelli, part. iii. p. 313, &c.

ⁱ It is generally admitted that Strabo is mistaken in ascribing the construction of the Flaminian way to C. Flaminius, son of the Flaminius here mentioned, and who was consul with Æmilius Lepidus A. U. C.

567.; unless the road which led from Arretium to Ariminum and Bononia, and which he is known to have constructed, (Liv. XXXIX. 4.) bore also the name of Flaminia. See the French Strabo, note to l. v. p. 217. of the Greek text; also Nibby Dissert. delle Vie degli Antichi, p. 56.

Nuceria, and was there divided a second time, one branch striking off through Picenum to Ancona; from whence it followed the coast to Fanum Fortunæ; here it met the other branch, which passed the Apennines more to the north, and descended upon the sea by the pass of the Petra Pertusa and Forum Sempronii. These two roads thus reunited terminated at Ariminum. The following stations, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, mark the track of the western route.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.		
Roma				
Rostratam villam	<i>Rignano</i>	-	-	XXIV.
Otriculos	<i>Otricoli</i>	-	-	XXV.
Narniam	<i>Narni</i>	-	-	XII.
Interamniam	<i>Terni</i>	-	-	VIII.
Spoletium	<i>Spoletto</i>	-	-	XVIII.
Forum Flamini	<i>S. Giov. pro Fiamma</i>			XIX.
Helvillum	<i>Sigillo</i>	-	-	XXVII.
Callem	<i>Cagli</i>	-	-	XXIII.
Forum Sempronii	<i>Fossombrone</i>	-		XVIII.
Fanum Fortunæ	<i>Fano</i>	-	-	XVI.
Pisaurum	<i>Pesaro</i>	-	-	VIII.
Ariminum	<i>Rimini</i>	-	-	XXIV.

The same according to the Tabula Theodosiana.

Roma				
ad Pontem	<i>Ponte Molle</i>	-	-	III.
ad Rubras	<i>Prima Porta</i>	-		VI.
ad Vicesimum	-	-	-	XI.
Aquam vivam	<i>Acqua viva</i>	-	-	VII.
Interamniam ⁱ	<i>Terni</i>	-	-	VII.
Adtine Recine ^k	-	-	-	XI.

ⁱ Three stages are wanting between Aqua viva and Interamniam.

^k The name of this station is evidently corrupt; the first word seems to be ad Fines.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Fanum Fugitivi	<i>Monte Somma</i>	- II.
Spoletum	<i>Spoletum</i> - -	- V.
Mevaniam	<i>Bevagna</i> - -	- XII.
Forum Flaminii	<i>S. Giov. pro Fiamma</i>	XVI.
Nuceriam Camillariam	<i>Nocera</i> - -	- XII.
Helvillum	<i>Sigillo</i> - -	- XV.
ad Ensem	<i>Scheggia</i> - -	- X.
ad Calem	<i>Cagli</i> - -	- VII.
ad Intercisam	<i>Furlo</i> - -	- IX.
Forum Sempronii	<i>Fossombrone</i> - -	- XII.
Fanum Fortunæ	<i>Fano</i> - -	- XVI.
Pisaurum	<i>Pesaro</i> - -	- VIII.
Ariminum	<i>Rimini</i> - -	- XXIII.

According to the Jerusalem Itinerary.

Roma				
Rubras	<i>Prima Porta</i>	-	-	IX.
ad Vicesimum	-	-	-	XI.
Aqua viva	<i>Acqua viva</i>	-	-	VII.
Otriculos	<i>Otricoli</i>	-	-	XII.
Narniam	<i>Narni</i>	-	-	XII.
Interamnam	<i>Terni</i>	-	-	IX.
Tres Tabernas	-	-	-	III.
Fanum Fugitivi	<i>Monte Somma</i>		-	X.
Spoletum	<i>Spoletum</i>	-	-	VII.
Sacrariam	<i>le Vene</i>	-	-	VII.
Trebiam	<i>Trevi</i>	-	-	IV.
Fulginium	<i>Foligno</i>	-	-	V.
Forum Flaminii	<i>S. Giovanni</i>	-	-	III.
Nuceriam	<i>Nocera</i>	-	-	XII.
Ptanias ^l	<i>S. Maria Tadina</i>		-	VIII.
Herbellonium ^m	<i>Sigillo</i>	-	-	VII.
ad Ensem	<i>la Scheggia</i>	-	-	X.
ad Calem	<i>Cagli</i>	-	-	XIV.

¹ Holstenius thinks this should be Tadinæ. Adnot. p. 93.

^m Probably the same as Helvillum.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Intercisam	<i>Furlo</i> - -	- IX.
Forum Sempronii	<i>Fossombrone</i> - -	- IX.
ad Octavum	- - -	- IX.
Fanum Fortunæ	<i>Fano</i> - -	- VIII.
Pisaurum	<i>Pesaro</i> - -	- VIII.
Ariminum	<i>Rimini</i> - -	- XXIV.

The eastern branch of this road is thus described in the Antonine Itinerary.

Roma		
Narniam	<i>Narni</i> - -	- LIX.
ad Martis	<i>Massa</i> - -	- XVII.
Mevaniam	<i>Bevagna</i> - -	- XVI.
Nuceriam	<i>Nocera</i> - -	- XVIII.
Dubios	- - -	- VIII.
Prolaqueum	<i>Pioraco</i> - -	- VIII.
Septempedam	<i>S. Severino</i> - -	- XV.
Treiam	<i>Montecchio</i> - -	- IX.
Auximum	<i>Osimo</i> - -	- XVIII.
Anconam	<i>Ancona</i> - -	- XII.

From Ancona to Ariminum according to the Table.

Æsis ostium	<i>Esino fiume</i> - -	- XIV.
Senam Gallicam	<i>Sinigaglia</i> - -	- XII.
ad Pirum flumen	<i>Cesano fiume</i> - -	- VIII.
Metaurum flumen	<i>Metauro</i> - -	- VIII.
Fanum Fortunæ	<i>Fano</i> - -	- II.
Pisaurum	<i>Pesaro</i> - -	- VIII.
Ariminum	<i>Rimini</i> - -	- XXIV.

From Ancona there was a road which kept along the coast of Picenum, and connected the Flaminian with the Salarian way. The Antonine Itinerary divides it into these stations.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.	
Ancona	<i>Ancona</i>		
Numanam	<i>Humana</i>	-	VIII.
Potentiam	<i>S. Maria Potenza</i>	-	X.
Castellum Firmanum	<i>Porto di Fermo</i>	-	XII.
Castrum Truentinum	<i>Monte Brandone</i>	-	XXIV.
Castrum Novum	<i>Giulia Nova</i>	-	XII.
Hadriam	<i>Atri</i>	-	XV.

The Table furnishes us with some cross-roads through different parts of Picenum. From Septempeda on the Via Flaminia to Asculum, as follows :

Septempeda	<i>S. Severino</i>		
Urbem Salviam	<i>Urbisaglia</i>	-	XII.
Firmum Picenum	<i>Fermo</i>	-	XVIII.
Asculum Picenum	<i>Ascoli</i>	-	XXIII.
Urbe Salvia	<i>Urbisaglia</i>		
Ricinam	-	-	XII.
Auximum	<i>Osimo</i>	-	XIV.
Pollentia	<i>Monte Melone</i>		
Pausulas	<i>Monte dell' Olmo</i>	-	IX.
Firmum Picenum	<i>Fermo</i>	-	XV.
Asculum Picenum	<i>Ascoli</i>	-	XXIII.

SECTION VII.

SABINI, ÆQUI, MARSI, PELIGNI, VESTINI, MARRUCINI.

History and topography of these several people in the order in which they are here placed—Roman ways.

THE Sabines appear to be generally considered one of the most ancient indigenous tribes of Italy, and one of the few who preserved their race pure and unmixed. (Strab. V. 228.) We are not to expect, however, that fiction should have been more sparing of its ornaments in setting forth their origin, than in the case of other nations far less interesting and less celebrated. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, among other traditions respecting the Sabines, mentions one which supposes them to have been a colony of the Lacedæmonians about the time of Lycurgus, (II. 49.) a fable which has been eagerly caught up by the Latin poets and mythologists. (Sil. Ital. XV. 545. Ovid. Fast. I. 260. Hygin. ap. Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 638.)

Their name, according to Cato, was derived from the god Sabus, an aboriginal deity, supposed to be the same as the Medius Fidius of the Latins. His son Sancus was the Sabine Hercules^a. (Varr. Ling. Lat. IV. 10.)

^a In the Eugubian Tables he is styled Fijuvi and Fise Sabi, which Lanzi interprets Filius

Jovis, and Filius Sabi, vol. iii. p. 667.

..... læti pars Sancum voce canebant
 Auctorem gentis, pars laudes ore ferebant,
 Sabe, tuas, qui de patrio cognomine primus
 Dixisti populos magna ditioe Sabinos.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 422.

Having already touched upon the origin of the Sabines in the last section, I shall refer the reader to the arguments there stated, which would incline us to suppose that they were a branch of the aboriginal Umbri^b. How inconsiderable a community they constituted at first may be seen from the accounts of Cato; who, as quoted by Dionysius in his *Antiquities of Rome*, (II. 49.) reported, that the first Sabines settled in an obscure place named Testrina^c, in the vicinity of Amiternum. As their numbers increased, however, they rapidly extended themselves in every direction; expelling the Aborigines from the district of *Rieti*, and from thence sending numerous colonies into Picenum, Samnium, and the several petty nations who are named at the head of this section.

The early connection of the Sabines with Rome, which was yet in its infancy, naturally forms the most interesting epoch in their history. The event which brought the two states into contact, as related by the Roman historians, is too well known to require further notice here. But whatever truth may

^b See p. 251.

^c The question respecting the origin of the Sabines, and indeed generally that of the Oscan tribes, in my opinion resolves itself into this; Did the dialects of the Umbri and Osci differ essentially or not? If they did not, as Lanzi conceives, then the common origin of these peo-

ple seems certain. That the Sabines spoke the Oscan language has been abundantly proved by Cluverius and others. Romaneli speaks of some coins with the epigraph SAFINIM in retrograde Oscan characters, which must be ascribed to them. part. iii. p. 323.

be attached to the rape of the Sabine women, we cannot but look upon the accession of Tatius to the regal power, and the incorporation of the Quirites with the citizens of Rome, as well attested proofs of the control once exercised by the Sabine nation over that city.

With the reign of Numa, however, this influence ceased, for at that time we find the Sabines engaged in war with his successor Hostilius, and experiencing defeats which were only the prelude to a series of successful aggressions on the one hand, and of losses and humiliations on the other. It was reserved for the consul Curius Dentatus A. U. C. 462. to achieve the entire subjugation of the Sabines, by carrying fire and desolation beyond the sources of the Nar and Velinus, to the very shores of the Adriatic. (Liv. Epit. XI. Flor. I. 15.) Though the conquered country was apparently poor and void of resource, the rapacity of the victors is said to have been amply gratified in this expedition by plunder, such as they had never obtained in any of their former conquests. (Strab. V. 228.) A fact from which it may be inferred, that the Sabines of that day were no longer that austere and hardy race, to whose simplicity and purity of manners such ample testimony is paid by the ancient writers; whose piety and pristine worth were the model of the royal legislator, and an example of all that was noble and upright to the early patriots of Rome.

Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini:
Hanc Remus, et frater: sic fortis Etruria crevit,
Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.

GEORG. II. 532.

(Cf. Plin. III. 12. Cic. pro Leg. 11. Liv. I. 18. Dion. Hal. III. 63.)

In fixing the limits of the Sabine territory, we must not attend so much to those remote times when they reached nearly to the gates of Rome, as to that period in which the boundaries of the different people of Italy were marked out with greater clearness and precision, I mean the reign of Augustus. We shall then find the Sabines separated from Latium by the river Anio; from Etruria by the Tiber, beginning from the point where it receives the former stream, to within a short distance of *Otricoli*. The Nar will form their boundary on the side of Umbria, and the central ridge of the Apennines will be their limit on that of Picenum. To the south and south-east it may be stated generally, that they bordered on the Æqui and Vestini. From the Tiber to the frontier of the latter people, the length of the Sabine country, which was its greatest dimension, might be estimated at 1000 stadia, or 120 miles, its breadth being much less considerable^d. (Strab. V. 228.)

Mons
Sacer.

Beginning near the junction of the Tiber and Anio, we may first notice within the above mentioned limits a low range of sandstone hills, extending itself along the right bank of the Anio, and about three miles from Rome. This is the Mons Sacer, rendered so celebrated in history by the secession of the Roman people. (Liv. II. 32.)

Plebs vetus, et nullis etiam tunc tuta Tribunis,
Fugit; et in Sacri vertice montis abit.

OVID. FAST. III. 663.

^d See Cluv. Ital. Ant. I. p. 646. and Chaupy de Capmartin

Decouv. de la maison de Campagne d'Horace, t. iii. p. 59.

On the opposite bank of the Anio, and near the Pons Salaris, memorable from the single combat of ^{Pons Sa-} Manlius with the Gaul, (Liv. VII. 6.) antiquaries^c place Antemnæ, a city of the Aborigines, (Dion. ^{Antemnæ.} Hal. I. 35.) and more ancient than Rome itself.

Tela novant: Atina potens, Tiburque superbum,
Ardea, Crustumerique, et turrigeræ Antemnæ.
ÆN. VII. 630.

..... Antemnaque prisco
Crustumio prior— SIL. ITAL. VIII. 367.

We are told by Dionysius, in his Antiquities of Rome, (II. 36.) that Antemnæ belonged at first to the Siculi, but that afterwards it was conquered by the Aborigines, to whom probably it owes its Latin name. (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. Fest. v. Antemnæ.) That it afterwards formed part of the Sabine confederacy is evident, from its being one of the first cities which resented the outrage offered to that nation by the rape of their women. (Liv. I. 10. Strab. V. 226.)

Cænina, another town which was early opposed to ^{Cænina.} Rome, is thought to have stood upon the hill of *Sant' Angelo*, or *Monticelli*^f, on the right bank of the Anio. Having been conquered by Romulus, it is said to have received a colony from the victor, together with Antemnæ. (Liv. I. 10. Dion. Hal. II. 36.)

Tempore quo portas Cæninum Acrona petentem
Victor in eversum cuspide fundis equum.

^c Nibby Viaggio Antiquario nei contorni di Roma, t. i. p. 70.

^f Holsten. Adnot. p. 103.

Acron Hercules Cænina ductor ab arce,
Roma, tuis quondam finibus horror erat.

PROPERT. IV. ELEG. 10.

Fidenæ.

Nearer to the Tiber, and between four and five miles from Rome, we shall find the ruins of Fidenæ, a more celebrated though equally unsuccessful antagonist of Rome.

Aspice, nec longe repetam, modo, Roma, minanti
Impar Fidenæ, contentaque crescere asylo,
Quo sese extulerit dextris— SIL. ITAL. XV. 90.

This city is said to have been at first a colony of Alba. (Dion. Hal. II. 54.)

Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam ;
Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.

ÆN. VI. 773.

It fell subsequently into the hands of the Etruscans, but at what period we are not informed. These were probably the people of Veii, the nearest city of Etruria; and in conjunction with whom the Fidenates seem frequently to have taken the field against the Romans. (Liv. I. 6.) Fidenæ, according to Dionysius, was conquered by Romulus soon after the death of Tatius; he represents it as being at that period a large and populous town. (II. 23.) It would be tedious to enumerate the different attempts made by this city to emancipate itself from the Roman yoke; sometimes with the aid of the Etruscans, at others in conjunction with the Sabines. Its last revolt occurred A. U. C. 329., when the dictator Æmilius Mamercus, after having vanquished the Fidenates in the field, stormed their

city, which was abandoned to the licentiousness of his soldiery. (Liv. IV. 9.) From this time we hear only of Fidenæ as a deserted place, with a few country seats in its vicinity. (Strab. V. 226. Cic. de Leg. Agr. 235.)

Scis, Lebedus, quam sit Gabiis desertior atque

Fidenis vicus—

HOR. I. EPIST. 11. 7.

In the reign of Tiberius, a terrible disaster occurred here by the fall of a wooden amphitheatre during a show of gladiators, by which accident 50,000 persons, as Tacitus reports, or 20,000 according to Suetonius, were killed and wounded. (Tacit. Ann. IV. 62. Suet. Tib. 40.) From the passage of Tacitus here cited, it appears that Fidenæ had risen again to the rank of a municipal town. (Cf. Juven. Sat. X. 99.)

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam sumere mavis,

An Fidenarum, Gabiorumque esse potestas.

And Sat. VI. 55.

Magna tamen fama est cujusdam rure paterno

Viventis: vivat Gabiis, ut vixit in agro;

Vivat Fidenis, et agello cedo paterno.

The distance of five miles, which ancient writers reckon between Rome and Fidenæ, (Dion. Hal. II. 53. Strab. V. 226.) and the remains of antiquity which are yet to be seen there, fix the site of this city near *Castel Giubileo* §.

About two miles farther the ruins of Crustumerium, or Crustumium, are said to exist in a place ^{Crustumium.}

§ Holsten. Adnot. p. 127. Nibby Viaggio Antiq. nei contorni di Roma, t. i. p. 85.

now called *Marcigliano vecchio*^h. This town is stated to have been, as well as Fidenæ, a colony of Alba. (Dion. Hal. II. 53.) Its great antiquity is also attested by Virgil,

Quinque adeo magnæ positis incudibus urbes
Tela novant: Atina potens, Tiburque superbum,
Ardea, Crustumerique, et turrigeræ Antemnæ.

ÆN. VII. 629.

and Silius Italicus.

..... Antemnaque prisco
Crustumio prior—— VIII. 367.

(Cf. Plin. III. 5. Liv. I. 38.) From the latter writer we learn, that the Crustumini were vanquished by Romulus, and that a settlement was formed in their territory, the fertility of which is extolled by more than one writer; (I. 11. Cic. Orat. pro L. Flacc.) but their city was not finally conquered till the reign of the elder Tarquin. (Liv. I. 38.) It is plain from the account of Dionysius, that Crustumerium was situated near the Tiber, and higher up than Fidenæ; since the Fidenates are represented as intercepting supplies of corn, which were sent down to Rome from the former city by the Tiber during a time of scarcity. (II. 53. Cf. Plin. III. 5.) The name of Crustumini Colles appears to have been given to that ridge of which the Mons Sacer formed a part; since Varro, speaking of the secession of the Roman people to that hill, terms it *secessio Crustumerina*. (Ling. Lat. III. 1.) The tribe called Crustumina, evidently derived its name from this ancient city. (Liv. XLII. 34.)

^h Vulpii Vetus Latium, lib. xviii. c. 17.

A little stream which descends into the Tiber Allia fl. from the Crustumine hills, and is crossed by the Via Salaria, about four miles beyond *Marcigliano*, is generally considered as the fatal Allia which witnessed the first decisive defeat experienced by the Romans, after 365 years of almost uninterrupted success. This disastrous engagement is said to have occurred about eleven miles from Rome, on the Via Salaria, a distance which nearly agrees with that of the stream above mentioned; and it is further observed, that the character of its bed, confined within steep banks, accords with the description of the Roman historian Livy. (V. 37.)

Hæc est infastis cui dat gravis Allia nomen.

OVID. IN IBIN 221.

Quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen.

ÆN. VII. 717.

..... Cedant feralia nomina Cannæ,
Et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis.

LUCAN. VII. 408.

Allia, et infandi Senones, captæque recursat

Attonitis arcis facies.

SIL. ITAL. VI. 555.

Major et horrificis sese extulit Allia ripis.

ID. VIII. 649.

Cluveriusⁱ is mistaken when he identifies the Allia with the *Rio di Mosso*, as that rivulet is much beyond the given distance from Rome.

Proceeding in an easterly direction from the Allia, Nomen-
we shall find the city of Nomentum on the site now tum.
called, by corruption of the ancient name, *Lamentana Vecchia*. Nomentum was a colony of Alba.

ⁱ Ital. Ant. I. p. 707. Nibby delle Vie degli Antichi, p. 87.

Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam ;
Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.

ÆN. VI. 773.

(Dion. Hal. II. 53.) and therefore originally perhaps a Latin city ; (Liv. I. 38.) but from its position it is generally attributed to the Sabines.

Qui Nomentum urbem, qui rosea rura Velini.

ÆN. VII. 712.

(Cf. Strab. V. 228. Plin. III. 12.) Nomentum was finally conquered, with several other towns, A. U. C. 417, and admitted to the participation of the privileges granted to Latin municipal cities. (Liv. VIII. 14.)

Nomentum, however, was but an insignificant place in the time of Propertius.

Nec dum ultra Tiberin belli sonus, ultima præda
Nomentum, et captæ jugera pauca Coræ.

IV. ELEG. 10.

But its territory was long celebrated for the produce of its vineyards ; hence, in the time of Seneca and Pliny, we find that land in this district was sold for enormous sums. The former had an estate in the vicinity of this town, which was his favourite retreat. (Ep. 104. Plin. XIV. 4. Col. de R. Rust. III. 3.) The wine of Nomentum is commended by Athenæus Deipnos. (I. 48.) and Martial.

In Nomentanis, Ovidi, quod nascitur agris,
Accepit quoties tempora longa merum,
Exuit annosæ mores, nomenque senectæ,
Et quidquid voluit, testa vocatur anus.

I. EP. 85.

The poet had a farm near this spot, to which he makes frequent allusions.

Quincte Caledonios, Ovidi, visure Britannos,
 Et viridem Tethyn, Oceanumque patrem ;
 Ergo Numæ colles, et Nomentana relinques
 Otia ? nec retinet rusque focusque senem ?

X. EP. 44.

Me Nomentani confirmant otia ruris,
 Et casa jugeribus non onerosa suis.
 Hic mihi Baiani soles, mollisque Lucrinus ;
 Hic vestræ mihi sunt, Castrice, divitiæ.
 Quondam laudatas quocunque libebat ad undas
 Currere, nec longas pertimuisse vias.
 Nunc urbi vicina juvant, facilesque recessus,
 Et satis est, pigro si licet esse mihi.

ID. VI. EP. 43.

Cui sæpe sicci parva rura Nomenti,
 Laremque villæ sordidum petam, quæris ?
 Nec cogitandi, Sparse, nec quiescendi
 In urbe locus est pauperi.

ID. XII. EP. 57.

Between the Via Salaria and Nomentana, and about four miles from Rome, was the villa of Phaon, the freedman of Nero, where that emperor terminated his existence. (Suet. Neron. c. 48.) The Via Nomentana, which took its name from Nomentum, joined the Via Salaria a little beyond that city. (Strab. V. 228.) It was at first called Via Ficulensis, from its traversing the ancient city of Ficulea, the exact site of which is now however unknown^k. (Liv. III. 52.) Ficulea was one of those early Latin towns conquered by the elder Tarquin, which in the Augustan age scarcely preserved any vestige of existence but their name. (Dion. Hal. I. 16. Liv. I. 38. Plin. XXXV.) Martial calls it Ficeliæ.

^k Supposed by Nibby to have stood at *Monte Gentile*, about nine miles from Rome. Delle Vie degli Antichi, p. 94.

Bis vicine Nepos, nam tu quoque proxima Floræ
Incolis, et veteres tu quoque Ficelias.

VI. EP. 27.

Cornicu-
lum.

Corniculum, which gave its name to the Corniculani colles, is another of these towns of which no trace is now left; it is only interesting in the history of Rome as being the most accredited birthplace of Servius Tullius. (Liv. I. 39. Dion. Hal. III. 50. Plin. III. 5. Flor. I. 14.) The Corniculan hills are those of *Monticelli* and *Sant' Angelo*, and Corniculum itself may have stood on the site of the latter village, if we place Cænina at *Monticelli*¹. A little to the north of Nomentum some medicinal cold springs, now called *I Bagni di Grotta Marozza*, are considered with great probability to be the Aquæ Labanæ of Strabo. (V. 238.)

Cornicu-
lani mon-
tes.

Aquæ La-
banæ.

Eretum.

Still farther in the same direction, and at no great distance from the Tiber, was Eretum, an ancient Sabine city, whose name frequently occurs in the Roman historians. Dionysius reports that it was near the Tiber, and situated at 140 stadia from Rome. (II. 3.) This distance agrees with that given by the Itineraries, viz. eighteen miles, but not with the position of *Monte Ritondo*, which till lately has been invariably assigned to this ancient town. *Monte Ritondo* is hardly fourteen miles from Rome, whereas it ought to be sixteen to agree with the eighteen miles of the Itineraries^m.

The abbé Chaupy was the first to notice this incongruity of distance, and to point out the position of *Rimane*ⁿ, a place about two miles and a half

¹ Holsten. Adnot. p. 103.
Vulp. Lat. Vet. t. xi. p. 559.

Holsten. Adnot. p. 104. D'An-
ville, Anal. Geogr. p. 163.

^m Cluv. Ital. Ant. I. p. 667.

ⁿ Chaupy de Capm. Dec. de

beyond *Monte Ritondo*, and where considerable remains have been discovered, as the more probable site of Eretum. The antiquity of this city is attested by Virgil, who enumerates it in his list of the Sabine forces sent to the aid of Turnus.

Ereti manus omnis, oliviferæque Mutusæ.

ÆN. VII. 711.

It was subsequently the scene of many a contest between the Romans and the Sabines, leagued with the Etruscans. (Liv. III. 29. Dion. Hal. III. 59.) Hannibal, according to Cœlius the historian, when advancing by the Via Salaria towards Rome to make a diversion in favour of Capua, turned off at Eretum to pillage the temple of Feronia. I have before said that Livy places this temple on the right bank of the Tiber near Capena; but as inscriptions have been found near the ruins of Trebula °, an ancient town not far from Eretum, which speak of a shrine dedicated to this goddess in that vicinity, it seems more reasonable to ascribe to the Sabine what the Roman historian has referred to the Etruscan temple; and this supposition is much more consistent with the direction and course of the Carthaginian general's route. (Liv. XXVI. 11. and 23.) In Strabo's time Eretum appears to have been little more than a village. (V. 228. Val. Max. II. 4.)

Not far from Eretum probably stood Regillum, ^{Regillum.} a Sabine town, only known as the birthplace of Atta Clausus, who, under the name of Appius Claudius,

la maison d'Horace, t. iii. p. 85.
and 93. Nibby delle Vie degli
Antichi, p. 89.

° Fabretti Inscript. Ant. p.
452.

became the founder of the Claudian family at Rome. (Liv. II. 16. Dion. Hal. V. 40. Suet. Tib. I.)

Ecce, Sabinorum prisco de sanguine, magnum
Agmen agens Clausus, magnique ipse agminis instar :
Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
Per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.
ÆN. VII. 706.

Cures.

Beyond Eretum to the north was Cures, celebrated as having communicated the name of Quirites to the Romans, (Strab. V. 228. Varr. de Ling. Lat. V. Festus, v. Quirites. Plut. Rom. Plin. III. 12.) and distinguished also as having given birth to Numa Pompilius.

..... Nosco crines incanaque menta
Regis Romani; primus qui legibus urbem
Fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
Missus in imperium magnum—

ÆN. VI. 811.

..... Subitoque novum consurgere bellum
Romulidis, Tatioque seni Curibusque severis.

ÆN. VIII. 637.

A fabulous account of the origin of this city is given by Dionysius. (II. 48.) Whether it was founded by the Aborigines or the Pelasgi, there can be little doubt of its antiquity; and though we find the disparaging epithet of *parvi* attached to it by Virgil in the first of the above quoted passages, and by Ovid, (Fast. II. 135.)

Te Tatus, parvique Cures, Cæninaque sensit—

we may be assured that a populous and powerful

city could alone have compelled Rome, even at that early period of its existence, to sue for peace, and accept it on such conditions. Of the fact we are assured by Strabo, who contrasts its former state with its subsequent insignificance. (V. 228. Cf. Dion. Hal. II. 36.) Antiquaries are divided as to the site occupied by the ancient Cures. Cluverius placed it at *Vescovio di Sabina*^p, about twenty-five miles from Rome; the abbé Chaupy at *Monte Maggiore* on the Via Salaria, and twenty miles from that city^q. The opinion of Holstenius ought however to be preferred; he fixes it at *Correse*, a little town on a river of the same name, which bears an evident similarity to that of the ancient city, and where, according to the same accurate observer, many remains were still visible when he examined the spot^q.

Beyond Cures, the site now called *Grotte di Torri*, or simply *Torri*, seems to have been formerly occupied by a city of the same name, with the much more celebrated Gabii of Latium^r. No classical writer mentions positively such a place; but it is not improbable that Horace alludes to it where he says,

Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis, Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.

I. EPIST. XV. 8.

for an old scholiast observes on this passage, that the poet means the Aquæ Gabinæ of the Sabines. Aquæ Gabinae.

^p Ital. Ant. I. 675.

^q Dec. de la Maison d'Hor. t. iii. 576.

^q Adnot. p. 106. D'Anville, Geogr. Anc. t. i. p. 195.

^r Galetti Gabio antica città di Sabina scoperta ov'è ora Torri ovvero le Grotte di Torri. Roma, 4^{to}. 1757.

The existence of this Gabii is however further established by the acts of the martyrdom of St. Getulius, who is said to have suffered at Gabii of the Sabines, near the Via Salaria, in the reign of Hadrian ^s.

Farfarus fl.
sive Fabaris.

A little farther on we come to the river *Farfa*, the Fabaris of Virgil, and Farfarus of Ovid.

Qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt —

ÆN. VII. 715.

Narque tulit præceps et amœnæ Farfarus undæ.

METAM. XIV. 330.

Horatii
villa.

South-east of Cures is a district well known to every classical reader from the descriptions of Horace, and the interest which has been long attached to it from the circumstance of the poet's favourite Sabine farm being situated there. So many accounts and dissertations have been written on the topography of Horace's villa and its vicinity ^t, that it will not be necessary to enlarge further upon the subject here. The chief passages in which the poet alludes to this chosen retreat, are I. Epist. 16.

Ne perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quincti,
Arvo pascat herum, an baccis opulentet olivæ,
Pomisne, an pratis, an amicta vitibus ulmo:
Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter, et situs agri.
Continui montes, nisi dissocientur opaca
Valle; sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
Lævum decedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid? si rubicunda benigne
Corna vepres et pruna ferunt? si quercus et ilex

^s Galetti Gabio antica città di Sabina scoperta ov'è ora Torri ovvero le Grotte di Torri. Roma, 4^{to}. p. 13.

^t Chaupy de Capm. Dec. de la Maison de Camp. d'Horace, 3. tom. 8^o.

Multa fruge pecus, multa dominum juvat umbra ?
 Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
 Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
 Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus.

and I. Epist. XVIII. 104.

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
 Quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus;
 Quid sentire putas ? quid credis, amice, precari ?
 Sit mihi quod nunc est—

and also I. Od. 17.

Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem
 Mutat Lycæo Faunus, et igneam
 Defendit æstatem capellis
 Usque meis pluviosque ventos.

The Mons Lucretilis is now called *Monte Li-* Mons Lucretilis.
bretti; the river Digentia *la Licenza*, and the vil- Digentia fl.
 lage of Mandela is perhaps *Bardela*. The temple Mandela.
 of Vacuna, a goddess held in great veneration by Fanum Vacunæ.
 the Sabines, (Hor. I. Epist. 10. 49. Varr. ap. Schol.
 Ovid. Fast. VI. 307.) is supposed to have stood on
 the summit of *Rocca Giovane*^u.

To the north of Mount Lucretilis we find Suna, Suna.
 now probably *Nerola*, and beyond it Trebula Mu- Trebula Mutusca.
 tusca, both ancient Aboriginal towns, according to
 the statement of Dionysius on the authority of Varro.
 (I. 14.) Trebula Mutusca is noticed by Virgil.

Ereti manus omnis, oliviferæque Mutusæ.

ÆN. VII. 711.

(Cf. Strab. V. 228. Plin. III. 12.) Holstenius places

^u Adnot. p. 106.

it at *Monte Leone della Sabina*^w, not far from the source of the Farfaris; but Cluverius^x and Chaupy^y at *Monte Leone della Lionessa*, north of Rieti: perhaps the ruins seen by the two latter are those of the Trebula Suffena, mentioned by Pliny. (III. 12.)

Trebula
Suffena.

Himella fl. Beyond the Farfaris is the river Himella, now
Casperia. *l'Aia*, and near its source the town of Casperia, which Virgil notices in the same line.

Qui Nomentum urbem, qui rosea rura Velini;

* * * *

Casperiamque colunt, Forulosque, et flumen Himellæ.

ÆN. VII. 712.

It is called Casperula by Silius Italicus. (VIII. 426.) Cluverius has placed Casperia with accuracy at *Aspra*^z; Holstenius, with less judgment, at *Crespida*, on the confines of the Vestini^a.

Forum
Novum.

The last place to the north-west, and close to the Tiber, is Forum Novum, which Holstenius places at *Magliano*. Cluverius seems to have mistaken its ruins for those of Cures^b.

Reate.

Reate, whose name has scarcely undergone any change in its modern appellation of *Rieti*, holds a distinguished place among the Sabine towns, and in the antiquity of its origin is equalled by few of the cities of Italy, since at the most remote period to which the records of that country extend, it is reported to have been the first seat of the Umbri, who have, it appears to me, the best claim to be considered as the Aborigines of Italy. (Zenod. Trœz. ap.

^w Adnot. p. 112.

^x Ital. Ant. I. p. 683.

^y Ibid. III. p. 93.

^z Ital. Ant. I. p. 676.

^a Adnot. p. 107.

^b Adnot. p. 107.

Dion. Hal. II. 49. Id. I. 14.) It was here likewise that the Arcadian Pelasgi probably fixed their abode, and by intermixing with the earlier natives, gave rise to those numerous tribes, known to the Greeks by the name of Opici, and subsequently to the Romans under the various appellations of Latins, Oscans, and Campanians; these subsequently drove the Siculi from the plains, and occupied in their stead the shores of the Tyrrhenian sea. If we may credit Silius Italicus, Reate derived its name from Rhea, the Latin Cybele.

..... magnæque Reate dicatum

Coelicolum matri.

VIII. 417.

From Cicero (Cat. III.) we learn that it was only a *præfectura* in his time: (Cf. Fest. v. *Præfecturæ*.) from Suetonius we collect that it was a municipal town. (Vesp. c. 1.) Reate was particularly celebrated for its excellent breed of mules, (Strab. V. 228.) and still more so for that of its asses, which sometimes fetched the enormous price of 60,000 sesterterti, about 484*l.* of our money. (Varr. Rer. Rust. II. 1. and 8. Plin. VIII. 43.) The valley of the Velinus, in which this city was situated, was so delightful as to merit the appellation of Tempe; (Cic. Att. IV. Ep. 15.) and from their dewy freshness, its meadows obtained the name of Rosei Campi. (Varr. ^{Rosei Campi.} R. Rust. I. 7. Plin. XVII. 4.^c)

Qui Nomentum urbem, qui rosea rura Velini,

*

*

*

*

Caspermamque colunt.

ÆN. VII. 712.

^c According to Holstenius they still bear the name of *le Rose*. Adnot. p. 110.

Velinus
Lacus.

Velinus fl.

Villa Axii.

Septem
Aquæ.

It was however subject to inundations from the Velinus, *Velino*, which river forms some small lakes before it joins the Nar above *Terni*: the chief of these was called the Lacus Velinus, now *Lago di Piè di Lugo*. The drainage of the stagnant waters produced by the occasional overflow of these lakes, and of the river, was first attempted by Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of the Sabines: he caused a channel to be made for the Velinus, through which the waters of that river were carried into the Nar, over a precipice of several hundred feet. (Cic. ad Att. loc. cit.) This is the celebrated fall of *Terni*, known in Italy by the name of *Caduta delle Marmore*. It appears from Cicero, in the letter above quoted, and from Tacitus, (Ann. I. 79.) that the draining of the Velinus and Nar not unfrequently gave rise to disputes between the inhabitants of Reate and Interamna. The villa of Axius, the friend of Cicero, is supposed to have stood near *Piè di Lugo*^d. The Septem Aquæ, mentioned by that writer in the same letter, and by Dion. Hal. (II. 14.) were probably sources which formed, together with the Velinus, one of those numerous lakes above mentioned; and, according to Cluverius, that which is now called *Lago di Santa Susanna*^e.

Respecting the sites of the several Aboriginal towns described by Dionysius as lying around Reate, it cannot be expected that much should be known in the present day, since the historian represents most of them as already in ruins, and deserted at the time he wrote.

^d Adnot. p. 109.

^e Ital. Ant. I. p. 682.

The diligent Holstenius^f has nevertheless endeavoured to discover the remaining vestiges of these once populous and thriving settlements of the Aborigines and Arcadian Pelasgi. (Dion. Hal. I. 14.) In the opinion of this able topographer, Palantium^g, Palantium. the seat of the latter people, and from which the Palatine mount at Rome is said to have derived its name, (Varr. Ling. Lat. IV.) must have occupied the site of *Palazzo*, on the hill called *Fonte di Rieti*. Marruvium is to be placed at *Morro vecchio*, Marruvium. Corsula at *Contigliano*. Corsula. Of Vesbula nothing can safely be affirmed; nor of Mefula, Orvinium, and Batia. Vesbula. Orvinium. Batia. Holstenius is wrong in placing Lista and Tiora Matiena north of Reate. Dionysius says expressly, that the latter city was situated towards Latium, that is, south-east of Reate, and 300 stadia or 37 miles from that city; and in fact we find in that direction, and at that distance, a place still called *Torano*, but to which the name of Thora, or Tyra, is Tiora Matiena. given in the Martyrologium Romanum, when speaking of the martyrdom of saint Anatolia, who suffered there under the emperor Decius^h. Lista, the capital Lista. of the Aborigines, from which they were expelled by the Sabines, who surprised the town in an expedition by night, was 24 stadia from Tiora, that is, four miles lower down in the valley of the *Salto*. (Dion. Hal. I. 14.) To the east of Reate, and on the right bank of the Velinus, was Cutiliæ, also an Aboriginal Cutiliæ. city of great antiquity, (Dion. Hal. I. 14. and II. 49.)

^f Adnot. p. 109. et seq.

^g The real name of this city was PALACIUM, as appears from a very rare coin published by Sestini from the Museo Fon-

tana. Classes Gen. seu Mon. Vet. p. 12.

^h Chaupy, t. iii. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 340.

Cutiliæ
lacus.

and celebrated for its lake, now *Pozzo Ratignano*ⁱ, and the floating island on its surface. (Senec. Nat. Quæst. III. 25. Plin. II. 95.) This lake was farther distinguished by the appellation of the Umbilicus, or centre of Italy. (Varr. ap. Plin. III. 12.) This fact is found by D'Anville^k to be correct, when referred to the breadth of Italy; the distance from Ostia to Cutiliæ, the ruins of which are to be seen close to *Paterno*, a village near *Civita Ducale*, being seventy-six miles, and the same from thence to *Castrum Truentinum* on the Adriatic. If Cluverius is correct in reading Κοτύλη for Κοσύτη in Steph. Byz. who quotes the name from the Periegesis of Ctesias, as belonging to a city of the Umbri, we may adduce the authority of that early historian in proof of the antiquity of this town. Cutiliæ is also noticed by Strabo (V. 228.) for its mineral waters, which were accounted salutary for many disorders: they failed however in their effect upon Vespasian, who is stated to have died here. (Suet. Vesp. 24.)

Aquæ
Cutiliæ.

Interocrea.

Beyond Cutiliæ was Interocrea, now *Interdoco*, also on the Via Salaria. (Strab. V. 228.) From this place a road branched off to Amiternum, a distance of eighteen miles, passing by Testrina, the first seat of the Sabine nation, according to Cato, (ap. Dion. Hal. II. 49.) which must be placed near *Civita Tommassa*, if, as it is likely, the Fisteria of the Table should be altered to Testrina^l. Between this place and Amiternum was Foruli, corrupted in the same Itinerary into Eruli. (Cf. Liv. XXVI. 11.) Foruli is mentioned by Virgil among other Sabine towns.

Testrina.

ⁱ Ital. Ant. I. p. 689.

^k Anal. Geogr. p. 165.

^l Id. p. 168. Cluv. Ital. Ant.

I. p. 690.

..... qui rosea rura Velini ;

* * * *

Caspermamque colunt, Forulosque, et flumen Himellæ.

ÆN. XII. 714.

as also by Sil. Ital.; (VIII. 416.) but Strabo describes it as a rock, more fitted to be the haunt of bandits, than the habitation of peaceable men. (V. 228.)

Many antiquaries place Foruli at *Civita Tommasa*^m; but it must be observed, that this modern site lies too low to answer to the description of Strabo: I would fix it therefore nearer Amiternum, at *Forcella*, among the mountains, to the left of *Civita Tommasa*.

Amiternum, whose ruins are to be seen near *S. Amiter-*^{num.} *Vittorino*, a few miles to the north of *Aquila*ⁿ, was another Sabine city of great antiquity.

Ecce, Sabinorum prisco de sanguine, magnum
Agmen agens Clausus, magnique ipse agminis instar:

* * * *

Una ingens Amiterna cohors, priscique Quirites.

ÆN. VII. 706.

(Dion. Hal. II. 49. Cf. Strab. V. 228. Varr. de Ling. Lat. V. Plin. III. 12.) From Livy we learn that this town having fallen into the hands of the Samnites, it was recovered by the consul Sp. Carvilius, A. U. C. 459. (Liv. X. 39.) Under the Romans it became successively a *præfectura* and a colony, as we are informed by Frontinus and several inscriptions^o. In Ptolemy's time, Amiternum seems to have been included among the cities of the Vestini. (p. 66.)

^m Chaupy, t. iii. p. 124. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 334.

ⁿ Cluver. Ital. Ant. I. p. 686.

Holsten. Adnot. p. 114. Chaupy, t. iii. p. 67.

^o Romanelli, t. iii. p. 330.

Falacrinae. Returning to the Via Salaria, we find, north of Interocrea, Falacrinae, the birthplace of Vespasian, (Suet. Vesp. 2.) and whose name is yet extant in that of an ancient church dedicated to *S. Silvestro in Falacrino*^p.

Forum Decii. The site of the Forum Decii of Pliny (III. 12.) is unknown, unless we suppose with Cluverius^q that the name of this place is concealed under the Forocri of the Table, a station which occurs in that Itinerary on the Via Salaria between Interocrea and Falacrinae. In that case this town would answer to the position of *S^a. Croce*: but Holstenius is not of this opinion; he conceives that the reading of the Table is right, and that the name of this place being derived from Ocrea, implies a passage over a mountain^r.

Nursia. At the foot of the central chain of the Apennines, and near the source of the Nar, stood Nursia, now *Norcia*, noted for the coldness of its atmosphere.

Qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit
Nursia. ÆN. VII. 715.

..... necnon habitata pruinis
Nursia—— SIL. ITAL. VIII. 418.

Vespasiae. Polla Vespasia, the mother of Vespasian, was born here: and we are told, that the family of that emperor had possessions at a place called Vespasiae, between Nursia and Spoletum; (Suet. Vesp. c. 1.) a memorial of which is still preserved in the name of *Monte Vespio*^s.

Nar Fl. The river Nar, noted for its sulphureous stream,

^p Holsten. Adnot. p. 118.

^r Adnot. p. 118.

^q Ital. Ant. I. p. 690. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 337.

^s Holsten. Adnot. p. 119.

rises at the foot of Mount Fiscellus, or that part of ^{Fiscellus mons.} the chain of the Apennines which separates the Sabines from Picenum, (Plin. III. 12.) and after receiving the Velinus, and several other smaller rivers, falls into the Tiber near Oriculum.

Audiit et Triviæ longe lacus; audiit amnis
Sulfurea Nar albus aqua fontesque Velini.

ÆN. VII. 516.

..... Narque albescentibus undis
In Tiberim properans. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 453.

Mount Fiscellus was reported by Varro to be the only spot in Italy in which wild goats were to be found. (R. Rust. II. 1.) The rocks of Tetrica and ^{Tetricus mons.} Mount Severus are supposed by Holstenius to be ^{Severus mons.} the lofty peaks of the *Sibilla*, which tower above the rest of the Apennines^t.

Qui Tetricæ horrentis rupes, montemque Severum.
ÆN. VII. 713.

..... necnon habitata pruinis
Nursia, et a Tetrica comitantur rupe cohortes.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 418.

The Gurgures montes, which Varro commends for ^{Gurgures montes.} their sheep pastures, (R. Rust. II. 1.) are the mountains between *Rieti* and *Lionessa*, still noted for the same circumstance^u.

The Mons Canterius of the same author (R. ^{Canterius mons.} Rust. II. 1.) is supposed to answer to *Monte S. Giovanni* near *Rieti*.

^t Holsten. Adnot. p. 120.

^c Nibby Vie degli Antichi, p. 90.

ÆQUI, OR ÆQUICULI.

The Æqui, or Æquiculi, as they are sometimes called, are more distinguished in history from their early and incessant hostility against Rome, than from the extent of their territory or their numbers. Livy himself expresses his surprise, that a nation apparently so small and insignificant should have had a population adequate to the calls of a constant and harassing warfare, which it carried on against that city for so many years. (VII. 12.) But it is plain, from the narrow limits which must be assigned to this people, that their contests with Rome cannot be viewed in the light of a regular war, but as a succession of marauding expeditions made by these hardy but lawless mountaineers on the territory of that city, and which could only be effectually checked by the most entire and rigid subjection. (Liv. X. 1.)

Horrida præcipue cui gens, adsuetaque multo
Venatu nemorum, duris Æquicula glebis.
Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes
Convectare juvat prædas, ac vivere rapto.

ÆN. VII. 746.

Such is the character which Virgil has traced of this race of bandits; (Cf. Liv. II.) and yet by a strange anomaly, such was said to be their state of civilization at that time, that they furnished Rome with the model of her *feciales*, or heralds at arms^x. (Liv. I. 24.)

The Æqui are to be placed next to the Sabines,

^x We have seen elsewhere more probability to the Falisci, this circumstance referred with hence termed Æqui, p. 229.

and between them and the Marsi, chiefly in the upper valley of the Anio, which separated them from the Latins. They are said at one time to have been possessed of forty towns; but many of these must certainly have been little more than villages, and some also were subsequently included within the boundaries of Latium.

The only cities of note which all geographers agree in assigning to the Æqui, are Varia and Carseoli, on ^{Varia.} the Via Valeria. The former was close to the Digentia of Horace.

Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres.

I. EPIST. XIV. 3.

In Strabo, it is probable we ought to read Varia for Valeria^y. (V. 238.) The modern name of this place is *Vicovaro*.

Carseoli was about fifteen miles from Varia, and ^{Carseoli.} also on the Via Valeria. (Strab. V. 238.) It was apparently a town of some consequence, and became a Roman colony after the Æqui had been finally reduced, A. U. C. 451. (Liv. X. 3.) We find its name afterwards amongst those of the thirty cities which refused their assistance to the state at the most pressing period of the second Punic war. (Liv. XXVII. 9.) Carseoli appears to have been sometimes selected by the senate, as a residence for illustrious state captives and hostages. (Liv. XLV.) Ovid gives the following character of the country round this city, and of its productions.

Frigida Carseoli, nec olivis apta ferendis
Terra, sed ad segetes ingeniosus ager.

FAST. IV. 683.

^y Vulp. Vet. Lat. lib. xviii. p. 556.

We are indebted to Holstenius for the knowledge of the exact site occupied by this ancient town. It still retains the name of *il piano di Carsoli*, and its ruins that of *Celle di Carsoli*^z. Cluverius^a confounded them with those he saw at *Arsoli*, a place whose ancient name was probably *Arsulæ*, or *Arscoli*, though there is no mention of it in any classical authority^b.

Cliternum. Of Cliternum, recorded by Ptolemy, p. 65. Plin. III. 12. and Cic. Ep. Fam. VIII. 22. nothing is known, nor of the Vicus Nervesiæ of Pliny; (XXV. 8.) the latter is possibly the same with the Nursæ of Virgil, the site of which is equally unknown.

Et te montosæ misere in prælia Nursæ,
Ufens, insignem fama et præstantibus armis.

ÆN. VII. 744.

Treba. Near the source of the Anio was Treba, now *Trevi*. (Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 65.) This town appears to have been farther distinguished by the name of Augusta; but after which emperor it was so called is uncertain. (Front. de Aquæduct. II.)

A little lower down, the Anio forms three small lakes, which are the ancient Simbrivii Lacus, or Simbruina Stagna. (Tacit. Ann. XIV. 22.)

Quique Anienis habent ripas, gelidoque rigantur
Simbrivio, rastrisque domant Æquicula rura.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 370.

The coolness and salutary virtue of these waters are commended by Celsus. (IV. 5.) The neigh-

^z Adnot. p. 164. D'Anville,
Anal. Geogr. p. 172.

^a Ital. Ant. I. p. 784.

^b Holsten. Adnot. p. 166.
Vulp. Vet. Lat. lib. xviii. p.
574.

bouring town of Sublaqueum, now *Subiaco*, derived ^{Sublaqueum.} its name from these lakes. (Plin. III. 12.) It may be collected from Tacitus, that this place was at first only a villa of Nero. (Ann. XIV. 22.) Also from Frontinus de Aquæduct. who gives a full account of all the works which that emperor and his predecessor Claudius undertook for the purpose of supplying the capital with the pure waters of the Anio^c. (Tacit. Ann. XI. 13.)

MARSI.

The Marsi, though inconsiderable as a people, are entitled to honourable notice in the page of history for their hardihood and warlike spirit. Their origin, like that of many other Italian tribes, is enveloped in obscurity and fiction. A certain Phrygian named Marsyas is said to have been the founder of their race; (Solin. 8.) by others Marsus, the son of Circe; (Plin. VII. 2.) hence they are represented as enchanters, whose potent spells deprived the viper of its venom, or cured the hurt which it might have caused.

Quin et Marrubia venit de gente sacerdos,
Fronde super galeam, et felici comptus oliva,
Archippi regis missu, fortissimus Umbro:
Vipereo generi, et graviter spirantibus hydri
Spargere qui somnos cantuque manumque solebat,
Mulcebatque iras, et morsus arte levabat.

ÆN. VII. 750.

..... at Marsica pubes
Et bellare manu, et chelydri cantare soporem,
Vipereumque herbis hebetare, et carmine dentem.

^c Holsten. Adnot. p. 166. Vulp. Vet. Lat. lib. xviii. p. 493.

Ætæ prolem Angitiam mala gramina primam
 Monstravisse ferunt, tactuque domare venena,
 Et lunam excussisse polo, stridoribus amnes
 Frenantem, et sylvis montem nudasse vocatis.
 Sed populis nomen posuit metuentior hospes,
 Quum fugeret Phrygios trans æquora Marsya Crenos.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 497.

We do not find the Marsi engaged in war with Rome before the year 445. U. C. when they were defeated and forced to sue for peace. (Liv. IX. 41.) Six years after they again assumed a hostile character, but with as little success; they were beaten in the field, and lost several of their fortresses. (Liv. X. 3.) From that time we find them the firm and staunch allies of Rome, and contributing by their valour to her triumphs, till her haughty and domineering spirit compelled them and most of the other neighbouring people to seek by force of arms for that redress of their wrongs, and that concession of privileges and immunities to which they were justly entitled, but which was not to be granted to their entreaties. In the war which ensued, and which from that circumstance is called the Marsic as well as Social war, the Marsi were the first to take the field under their leader Silus Pompædius, A. U. C. 661. Though often defeated, the perseverance of the allies was at last crowned with success by the grant of those immunities which they may be said to have extorted from the Roman senate, A. U. C. 665. (Strab. V. 241. Vell. Pat. II. 16. Diodor. Sic. Frag. XXXVII. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 39. Liv. Epit. LXXII.—LXXX.)

The Marsi were contiguous to the Sabines and Vestini to the north, to the Æqui and Hernici to the

west and south-west, to the Samnites to the south; on the east they bordered on the Peligni.

The object of the greatest interest to be mentioned in the territory of the Marsi, is undoubtedly the Lacus Fucinus, now sometimes called *Lago Fucino*, but more commonly *Lago di Celano*. It is of considerable extent, being not less than forty miles in circumference. A small river anciently called Pitonius, now *Giovenco*, which entered the Lacus ^{Lacus Fucinus.} Pitonius fl. Fucinus on the north-east side, was said not to mix its waters, the coldest known, with those of that lake: according to the same popular account, this stream afterwards emerged by a subterraneous duct near Tibur, and became, under the name of Aqua Marcia^d, the purest supply which Rome received from its numerous aqueducts. (Plin. XXXI. 3. Strab. V. 240.)

..... Marsasque nives et frigora ducens

Marcia —

STAT. SILV. I. 3.

The Pitonius is however mentioned by a much more ancient author than those here quoted, I mean Lycophron. (v. 1275.)

Λίμνης τε Φόρκης Μαρσιωνίδος ποτὰ,
Πιτώνιον τε χεῦμα τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς
Δύνοντος εἰς ἄφαντα κευθμῶνος βάθη.

Virgil has beautifully introduced the mention of the Fucine lake.

^d This fact has been very much disputed by modern antiquaries, such as Holstenius, Adnot. p. 166. and Fabretti, Dissert. de Aquis et Aquæduct.

II. 131. On the other hand it is defended by Vulpius, Vet. Lat. lib. xviii. p. 444. and Romanelli, t. iii. 187.

Te nemus Anguitiæ, vitrea te Fucinus unda,
Te liquidi flevere lacu. ÆN. VII. 759.

And Silius Italicus, IV. 346.

..... vitreo quem Fucinus antro
Nutrierat, dederatque lacum transmittere nando.

As it was subject to inundation, (Strab. V. 241. Jul. Obs. de Prod.) Cæsar, it appears, had intended to find a vent for its waters, (Suet. Cæs. 44.) but this design was not carried into execution till the reign of Claudius. After a continued labour of eleven years, during which 30,000 men were constantly employed, a canal of three miles in length was carried through a mountain from the lake to the river Liris^e. On its completion, the splendid but sanguinary show of a real *naumachia* was exhibited on the lake in the presence of Claudius and Agrippina, and a numerous retinue, while the surrounding hills were thronged with the population of the neighbouring country. The reader will find these events fully detailed in Suetonius, Claud. 20. Tacitus, Ann. XII. 56. and Dio Cassius LX. Hadrian afterwards is said to have repaired this work of Claudius. (Æl. Spart. vit. Hadr.)

Marruvium.

The capital of the Marsi was Marruvium,

Marruvium, veteris celebratum nomine Marri,
Urbibus est illis caput. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 507.

which we must place with Holstenius at *San Benedetto*, on the eastern shore of the lake, where in-

^e Considerable remains of this undertaking are yet to be seen between *Avezzano* and *Lugo*. See Fabretti Dissert. de

Emissario Lacus Fucini. Holsten. Adnot. p. 148. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 194.

scriptions have been found which leave no doubt on the subject ^f. This city is also mentioned by Strabo (V. 241.) and Pliny. (III. 12.)

Alba, named Fucentia, or Fucensis, from its vicinity to the Fucine lake, though perhaps an independent city, is generally included in the territory of the Marsi. (Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66.) It became a colony of Rome A. U. C. 450. (Liv. X. 1. Vell. Pat. I. 14.) and from its strong and secluded situation, appears to have been selected by the senate of that city as a fit place of residence for captives of rank and consequence, as well as for notorious offenders. (Strab. V. 241.) Of the former case, we have several instances mentioned by Livy. Syphax was long detained at Alba, though latterly he was removed to Tibur; (Liv. XXX. 45.) as were also Perseus king of Macedon, and his son Alexander, (Liv. XLV. 42. Vell. Pat. I. 11. Val. Max. V. 1.) and Bituitus king of the Arverni, a people of Gaul conquered by Domitius Ænobarbus. (Liv. Epit. LXI. Val. Max. IX. 6.) At the time of Cæsar's invasion of his country, we find Alba adhering to the cause of Pompey, (Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 15.) and subsequently repelling the attack of Antony, on which occasion it obtained a warm and eloquent eulogium from Cicero. (Phil. III. 3. Appian. Civ. Bell. III. 45.) According to Silius, the territory of Alba was not unfruitful.

..... interiorque per udos
Alba sedet campos, pomisque rependit aristas.

VIII. 508.

^f Adnot. p. 151. Romanelli, MARUB on the reverse, and a
t. iii. p. 180. The coins of head of Pluto. Sestini Classes
Marruvium have the epigraph Gen. &c. p. 12.

Its ruins, which are said to be considerable ^g, stand about a mile from the modern city of the same name, situated at no great distance from the northern shore of the Fucine lake.

The remaining towns of the Marsi are more obscure. ^{Lucus Angitiaë.} Lucus, whose inhabitants were the Lucenses of Pliny, (III. 12.) is no doubt the same as the modern *Luco*, and probably derived its name and origin from the celebrated grove of Angitiaë, the sister of Circe ^h. (Solin. 8. Serv. in *Æn.* VII. 759.)

There is even reason to suppose, from an ancient inscription quoted by Romanelli ⁱ, that there was a ^{Angitia.} town actually called Angitia, a little to the north of the ruins of Lucus, where other remains are also said to exist.

About five miles from the southern shore of the ^{Antinum.} Fucine lake stood Antinum, or Antina, a town mentioned only by Pliny, (III. 12.) but which is proved by numerous inscriptions to have been a considerable municipal city of the Marsi, as its walls, built of massive blocks of stone, fully attest ^k.

^{Anxantia.} Anxantia, another Marsic city noticed by Pliny, (III. 12.) is supposed to have occupied the site now called *Poggio Filippo*; as in old writings this place bears the appellation of *Anxino*, and *Ansuino* ^l.

^{Archippe.} Archippe, a town said to have been swallowed up by the waters of the Fucinus, (Plin. III. 12. Solin.

^g See Romanelli, t. iii. p. 211. There are also coins of this ancient city having the legend ALBA in Oscan characters, with Mercury or a flying Pegasus on the reverse. Pellerin, t. i. pl. 7. Dutens Paleogr. p. 49.

^h Romanelli, t. iii. p. 221.

ⁱ Id. t. iii. p. 219.

^k De Sanctis Antino Municipio dei Marsi, p. 20.

^l Phæbon. Histor. Mars. III. 2.

8.) is thought by Holstenius, on the authority of some people of the country who had seen vestiges of it, to have stood between the villages of *Transaqua* and *Ortuccia*, on the spot which retains the name of *Arciprete*^m.

The sites of Milonia, Plestinia, and Fresilia, three fortresses mentioned by Livy, as having been captured by the Romans in one of their early wars with the Marsi, (X. 3.) are very undetermined. The native writers on the antiquities of the Marsi place Milonia about three miles east of the little town of *Milonia*. *Opi*; Plestinia near the source of the *Sangro*, at *Plestinia*. *Pesco-Asserolo*; and Fresilia at *Civitella*, a place in *Fresilia*. the same vicinity. The latter name is noticed by topographers as being generally indicative of an ancient siteⁿ.

PELIGNI.

The Peligni were not distinguished from the other tribes by which they were surrounded by their political importance, or the extent of their country; but they derive some consideration in history, from the circumstance of their chief city having been selected by the allies in the Social war as the seat of the new empire. Had their plans succeeded, and had Rome fallen beneath the efforts of the coalition, Corfinium would have become the capital of Italy, and perhaps of the world. (Strab. V. 241.) The Peligni were said by Festus to derive their origin from Illyria, possibly from the same stock as the Liburni, who are known to have formed settlements at the mouth of the *Tronto*, on the shore of the

^m Adnot. p. 154. ⁿ Corsignani Reg. Marsic. iii. 17. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 232.

Adriaticⁿ. But Ovid as expressly informs us, and he ought to be considered as good authority in what regards his own countrymen, that they were descended from the Sabines.

Et tibi cum proavis, miles Peligne, Sabinis
Convenit; hic genti quartus uterque Deus.

FAST. III. 95.

This appears to me a much more probable account, if we consider the uniformity of language, customs, and character, which is apparent in all the minor tribes of central Italy, as well as in the Samnites, between whom and the Sabines these tribes may be said to form an intermediate link in the Oscan chain. That the Oscan language was in fact common to all these people, has been ascertained from the coins of Alba and Corfinium, and those of the Vestini and Marrucini, besides several inscriptions in the same character, found in various parts of their ancient territory^o.

The small and mountainous tract of country occupied by the Peligni seems to have been noted for the coldness of its climate, as well as for the abundance of its springs and streams.

Quo præbente domum, et quota,
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.

HOR. III. OD. 19.

Hac ego Pelignos, natalia rura petebam
Parva, sed adsiduis humida semper aquis.

OVID. FAST. IV. 685.

That some portion of it however was fertile, we learn also from the latter poet.

ⁿ Corsignani Reg. Marsic. iii. 17. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 232.

^o Lanzi, t. iii. p. 589.

Terra ferax Cereris multoque feracior uvæ,
Dat quoque bacciferam Pallada rarus ager.

Id. AMOR. II. 16.

It was separated from the Marsi to the west by the Apennines; to the north it bordered on the Vestini; to the east and south on the Marrucini, Frentani, and part of Samnium.

Corfinium has been already mentioned as the Corfinium. chief city of the Peligni. It enjoyed for a short time only the honour of being styled the capital of Italy, under the name of Italica^p, as it appears to have seceded from the confederacy before the conclusion of the war. (Diod. Sic. Frag. XXXVII.) In later times we find it still regarded as one of the most important cities of this part of Italy, and one which Cæsar was most anxious to secure in his enterprise against the liberties of his country. It surrendered to him after a short defence, when Cn. Domitius, the governor, was allowed to withdraw with his troops to Brundisium. (Civ. Bell. I. 16.)

At te Corfini validis circumdata muris

Tecta tenent pugnax Domiti.

LUCAN. II. 478.

(Cf. Cic. ad Att. VIII. 3. Flor. IV. 2. Appian. Civ. Bell. II. 38. Suet. Cæs. 34. Sen. de Benef. III. 24. Oros. VI. 15. Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66. Front. de Col.)

The church of *S. Pelino*, about three miles from the town of *Popoli*, stands on the site of this ancient

^p The rare coins with the legend VITELIU in retrograde Oscan characters, supposed to correspond with the Latin word

ITALORUM, are generally ascribed to Corfinium. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 141. Sestini Class. Gen. &c. p. 13.

city, and the little hamlet of *Pentima* occupies probably the place of its citadel^a.

Sulmo.

About seven miles S. E. of Corfinium was Sulmo, now *Sulmone*, a place also of some consequence; but it is rendered more worthy of our notice from the circumstance of its being the birthplace of Ovid, who has made us acquainted with that fact in more than one passage.

Sulmo mihi patria est gelidis uberrimus undis.

TRIST. IV. EL. 9.

Sulmonis gelidi, patriæ, Germanice, nostræ;

Me miserum, Scythico quam procul illa solo est!

FAST. IV. 81.

Pars me Sulmo tenet, Peligni tertia ruris:

Parva, sed irriguis ora salubris aquis.

AMOR. II. 16.

The improbable story of its having been founded by Solymus, a Phrygian, one of the companions of Æneas, which we find in the same poet, (Fast. IV. 79.) is reechoed by Silius Italicus. (IX. 76.)

We learn from Florus that this city was exposed to all the vengeance of Sylla, for having been attached to the cause of Marius, (III. 21.) It was not however destroyed by that general, since we soon after hear of its falling into the hands of Cæsar, together with Corfinium. (Civ. Bell. I. 16.) Sulmo is also mentioned by Livy XXVI. 11. Strab. V. 241. and Plin. III. 12. Frontinus states that it was a colony.

.....conjungitur acer

Pelignus, gelidoque rapit Sulmone cohortes.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 511.

^a Holsten. Adnot. p. 145. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. p. 177.

Super Equum, another town belonging to the Peligni, (Plin. III. 12.) and likewise a Roman colony according to Frontinus, is proved with certainty by Holstenius to have occupied the site of the present *Castel Vecchio Subequo*^r near the river *Pescara*.

Cuculum, known only from Strabo, (V. 241.) who places it near the Via Valeria, is with great probability supposed to be *Cucullo*, a village situated amongst the mountains which divide the Marsi from the Peligni^s.

On the summit of one of the passes belonging to the central chain of the Apennines which led from the Peligni into Samnium, was a temple consecrated to Jupiter Palenius. The plain on which it stood still bears the name of *Campo di Giove*, and the mountain itself that of *Forca Palena*^t.

VESTINI.

The Vestini, who are the next in order, occupied an equally mountainous, though more extensive tract of country than the smaller nations which have been hitherto described in this section. To the east they reached as far as the sea, being separated from the territory of Hadria, to the north by the river *Matrinus*, and from the *Marrucini* by the river *Aternus* to the south. To the north and north-west they confined on the *Sabines*, and to the south and south-west on the *Peligni* and *Marsi*. (Strab. V. 241.)

The history of the Vestini^u offers no circumstances

^r Adnot. p. 145.

^s Id. Adnot. p. 155. De Sanctis *Citta d'Antino*, p. 4.

^t Holsten. Adnot. p. 145. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 165.

^u The coins bearing the legend

VES, in retrograde Oscan characters, are generally ascribed to this people. Lanzi t. iii. p. 589. Avellin. Giorn. Numism. t. i. 14. Sestini Class. Gen. &c. p. 12.

of peculiar interest; they are first introduced to our notice in the Roman annals as allies of the Samnites, a people to whom they are said not to have been inferior in valour; but being separately attacked by the Romans, the Vestini, too weak to make any effectual resistance, were soon compelled to submit, A. U. C. 451. (Liv. VIII. 29. and X. 3.)

This people however were not behindhand with their neighbours in taking up arms on the breaking out of the Social war; they bore an active part in the exertions and perils of that fierce and sanguinary contest, and received their share of the rights and privileges which on its termination were granted to the confederates.

Pinna.

The following towns are spoken of in ancient authors as belonging to the Vestini. Pinna, which has scarcely changed its name in that of *Civita di Penna*, was perhaps the first in rank and importance.

Haud ullo levior bellis Vestina juvenus
Agmina densavit, venatu dura ferarum:
Quæ, Fiscelle, tuas arces, Pinnamque virentem,
Pascuaque haud tarde redeuntia tondet Avellæ.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 517.

We are informed by Val. Maximus that it sustained a siege against the Roman army during the Social war, and this writer has recorded an interesting circumstance which occurred there at that time. (V. 4.) It appears from a passage in Frontinus to have become subsequently a Roman colony. (Cf. Diod. Sic. Frag. XXXVII. Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66.) Vitruvius notices some waters in its vicinity as being nitrous. (VIII. 3.)

Angulus.

Angulus, nearer the coast, is now *Civita Sant' Angelo*. (Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66.)

More inland, and amongst the Apennines, were Cutina and Cingilia, two fortresses taken by the Romans in their first war with the Vestini. (Liv. VIII. 29.) The former is supposed by Romanelli to answer to the site of *Civita Aquana*; the latter to that of *Civita Aretenga*^x. A little to the north of *Civita Aquana*, and on the borders of Picenum, rises *Monte Corno*, not unfrequently also designated by the name of *il Gran Sasso*, and considered to be the highest summit of the Apennines. Cluverius^y is probably right in identifying this mountain with the Mons Cunarus to which Servius alludes. (ad Æn. X. 185.)

Cutina.
Cingilia.

Cunarus
mons.

Aufina, situated between the two last mentioned places, is easily recognised in its modern name of *Ofena*^z. (Plin. III. 12.) Peltuinum, noticed by the same author, is proved from inscriptions to have been a municipium, and from a passage in Frontinus to have received at one period a colony from Rome. It was erroneously placed by Cluverius at *Civita Aquana*^a, since a memorial of it still exists in the name of *S. Paolo a Peltuino*^b, which is that of the parish church of *Prata*, a small place situated in the diocese of *Aquila*, and a few miles south of that city, on the left bank of the *Pescara*. This river, whose ancient name is Aternus, is one of the most considerable of the Italian streams which discharge their waters into the Adriatic. Strabo accurately describes it as rising in the Sabine mountains a little above Amiternum, and after flowing through the territory of the Vestini, whom in the latter part of

Aufina.

Peltuinum.

Aternus fl.

^x Romanelli, t. iii. p. 284.

^y Ital. Ant. i. 748.

^z Holsten. Adnot. p. 140.

^a Ital. Ant. i. p. 750.

^b Romanelli, t. iii. p. 264.
who quotes several inscriptions
belonging to this city.

its course it divided from the Marrucini, as emptying itself into the abovementioned sea at a place called
 Aternum. Aternum; to which it doubtless communicated its name, as it now does to the modern *Pescara*, a fortress and harbour which have risen on the site of the ancient Aternum. This port, as the same ancient writer informs us, belonged to the Vestini; but they allowed their neighbours, the Peligni and Marrucini, to participate in its advantages. (V. 241.)

Towards the upper part of the course of the Aternus we have yet to notice, as belonging to the Vestini,
 Pitinum. Pitinum, now *Torre di Pitino*^c, situated near a little
 Novanus fl. stream called Novanus by Pliny, and noticed by that author from the peculiar circumstance of its being dry in winter, but plentifully supplied in summer. (II.) This source is now known by the name of *Laghetto di Vetojo*^d.

On the other side of the Aternus, the Vestini
 Aveia. claimed the city of Aveia, the exact position of which is somewhat disputed. Holstenius fixes it at *Civita di Bagno*^e, a little to the south of *Aquila*; but a more modern Italian antiquary, who has written a dissertation on the subject^f, places it at *Fossa*, about two miles to the west of the former place. Ptolemy is the only ancient author who has noticed this city, (p. 66.) unless it be admitted that Silius Italicus alludes to it, when he says,

Quæ, Fiscelle, tuas arces, Pinnamque virentem,
 Pascuaque haud tarde redeuntia tondet Avellæ.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 519.

In which case we should perhaps read “Aveiæ.”

^c Holsten. Adnot. p. 139.

^d Romanelli, t. iii. p. 281.

^e Adnot. p. 239.

^f Giovenazzi della città d'Aveia nei Vestini. Roma. 1773. 4°.

Likewise in Frontinus it is probable that the Ager Veios, which he connects with the neighbouring district of Amiternum, should be Aveias. The passage would in that case prove that Aveia was at some time or other a Roman colony.

Furconium, which Cluverius has placed among ^{Furconi-} the Sabines, but which ought, according to the Mar-^{um.} tyrologium Romanum, to belong to the Vestini, must have been an obscure place in antiquity, since it is mentioned by no writer previous to Paulus Diaconus. (Rer. Langob. II. 20.) Its remains are still known by the name of *Forconio* ^g.

MARRUCINI.

The Marrucini are the last people to be described in the present section. They must have occupied a narrow slip of territory on the right bank of the river Aternus, between the Vestini to the north, and the Frentani to the south, and between the Peligni and the sea, towards the west and east. Cato derived their origin from the Marsi. (ap. Priscian. c. 8.) Like that people, they were accounted a hardy and warlike race, and with them they made common cause against the tyranny of Rome. An idea may be formed of the population and force of the several petty nations which have been classed together in this part of the work, from a statement of Polybius, (II. 24.) where that historian, when enumerating the different contingents which the allies of the Romans were able to furnish about the time of the second Punic war, estimates that of the Marsi, Marrucini, Vestini, and Frentani, at 20,000 foot and 4000 horse.

^g Ital. Ant. i. 686.

Qua duri bello gens Marrucina, fidemque
Exuere indocilis sociis Frentanus in armis.

SIL. ITAL. XV. 569.

Teate.

The only city of note which we find ascribed to the Marrucini is Teate, now *Chieti*, on the right bank of the *Pescara*. But all accounts agree in describing it as a large and populous town, and worthy of being ranked amongst the distinguished cities of Italy^h.

Marrucina simul Frentanis æmula pubes
Corfini populos, magnumque Teate trahebat.

SIL. ITAL. VIII. 521.

..... cui nobile nomen
Marrucina domus, clarumque Teate ferebat.

ID. XVII. 457.

Statius, speaking of the eruptions of Vesuvius, says,

..... procul ista tuis sint fata Teate,
Nec Marrucinos agat hæc insania montes.

SILV. IV. 4.

(Cf. Strab. V. p. 241. Plin. III. 12.) The family of Asinius Pollio came originally from this place. (Cattull. Carm. XII.)

Pollitium.

Pollitium is another town mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, (XIX.) as belonging to the Marrucini, but by him only. Holstenius was able to discover no trace of its existenceⁱ. Romanelli conjectures that

^h Besides considerable remains of a theatre and other public edifices still visible on the site of this city, we have several coins with the epigraph

TIATI, on the reverse a head of Hercules with the club and lion's skin. Pellerin, t. i. pl. 7.

ⁱ Adnot. p. 142.

it may have stood to the west of *Chieti*, on the site called *S. Agatopo*^k.

ROMAN WAYS.

The first road which we have to notice in this section is the Via Salaria, which traversed the Sabine country, and terminated at Hadria in Picenum. We are told that it obtained its name from the use to which it was converted by the Sabines, for the importation of salt into their country from the sea. (Fest. v. Salaria.) When or by whom it was constructed is not known; but it appears to have existed as early as the first invasion of the Gauls; for the battle on the Allia is said to have been fought near the eleventh milestone on that road. Strabo informs us, that it commenced at the Porta Collina, as did also the Via Nomentana, which rejoined the former near Eretum. (V. 228.)

The distances of this road from Rome to Hadria, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, are as follows :

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Roma		
Eretum	<i>Rimane</i> - -	XVIII.
Vicum Novum	<i>S. M. in Vico Nuovo</i> ^l	XIII.
Reate	<i>Rieti</i> - -	XVI.
Cutillas	<i>Paterno</i> - -	VIII.
Interocream	<i>Interdoco</i> ^m - -	VI.
Falacrinum	<i>Falacrino</i> - -	XVI.
Vicum Badies	<i>Accumulo</i> ⁿ - -	IX.
ad Centesimum	- - -	X.

^k T. iii. p. 119.

^m Cluver. Ital. Ant. i. p. 687.

^l D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. p.

ⁿ Id. i. p. 742.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Asculum Picenum	<i>Ascoli</i> - -	- XII.
Castrum Truentinum	<i>Monte Brandone</i>	- XX.
Castrum Novum	<i>Giulia Nova</i> -	- XII.
Hadriam	<i>Atri</i> - -	- XV.

According to the Tabula Theodosiana.

Roma		M. P.
Fidenas	<i>Castel Giubileo</i> -	V.
Eretum	<i>Rimane</i> - -	XIII.
ad Novas	<i>S. M. in Vico Nuovo</i>	XIII.
Reate	<i>Rieti</i> - -	XVI.
Aquas Cutilias	<i>Paterno</i> - -	VIII.
Interocream	<i>Introdoco</i> - -	VII.
Forocream	<i>S^a. Croce</i> ° -	XII.
Falacrinas	<i>Falacrino</i> - -	III.
ad Martis	- - -	XII.
Surpicanum P	- - -	VII.
ad Aquas	<i>Acqua Santa</i> ¶	IV.
Asculum Picenum	<i>Ascoli</i> - -	X.

From Interocrea a road branched off to Amiternum, and ultimately communicated with the Via Valeria, which I shall presently have occasion to notice. The following stations are laid down for this road in the Table^r.

Interocrea	<i>Introdoco</i>	
Fisternas read Testrinam	<i>Civita Tomassa</i> -	X.
Erulos read Forulos	<i>Forcella</i> - -	III.
Pitinum	<i>Torre di Pitino</i> -	VII.

° Holsten. Adnot. p. 118.

Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 153.

¶ I suspect this station is no other than the Centesimum of the Antonine Itinerary, under the name of Suburbicanum, as the limit of the Provinciæ Suburbicariæ. See D'Anville, Anal.

¶ Holsten. Adnot. p. 139.

¶ For a detailed account of this road, the direction of which, after all, seems uncertain, see Romanelli, t. iii. p. 628.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Prifernum	<i>Asserge</i> ^s - -	XII.
Aveiam	{ <i>Civita di Bagno</i> , or <i>Fossa</i> }	VII.
Frustemas	<i>Ocre</i> - -	II.
Albam Fucentiam	<i>Alba</i> - -	XVIII.

The Via Valeria is supposed, on the authority of a passage in Livy, (IX. 23.) to have been made by M. Valerius Maximus, who was censor with C. Junius Bubulcus A. U. C. 447. It commenced, as Strabo informs us, at Tibur, where the Via Tiburtina terminated, and led through the territories of the Æqui and Marsi to Corfinium; (V. 238.) but the Itineraries make it extend as far as Hadria in Picenum. That of Antoninus furnishes us with the following statement of stages and distances.

Roma		M. P.
Tibur	<i>Tivoli</i> - -	XX.
Carseolos	<i>Carsoli</i> - -	XXII.
Albam Fucentiam	<i>Alba</i> - -	XXV.
Cerfenniam	<i>li Colli</i> ^t - -	XIII.
Corfinium	<i>S. Pelino</i> - -	XVII.
Interpromium	<i>S. Valentino</i> ^u -	XI.
Teate Marrucinatorum	<i>Chieti</i> - -	XIII.
Hadriam	<i>Atri</i> - -	XIV. ^x

The same according to the Table.

Roma		
ad Aquas Albulas	<i>la Solfataras</i> -	XIV.

^s Romanelli, t. iii. p. 283.

^u Id. Adnot. p. 143.

^t Holsten. Adnot. p. 153.

^x This number should probably be XXIV.

The number affixed to this station in the Itinerary is XXIII. I have adopted the correction of Holstenius, who changes it to XIII.

^y Nibby Viaggio Antiquario ne' contorni di Roma, t. i. p. 105.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Tibur	<i>Tivoli</i> - -	VI.
Variam	<i>Vicovaro</i> - -	X.
Laminas	<i>Ferrata</i> - -	V.
Carseolos	<i>Carsoli</i> - -	X.
Albam Fucentiam	<i>Alba</i> - -	XXIV.
Marrubium	<i>S. Benedetto</i> - -	XIII.
Cerfenniam	<i>li Colli</i> - -	VII.
Montem Imæum	<i>Forca Carrosa</i> ^z - -	V.
Statulas	<i>Goriano</i> ^a - -	VII.
Corfinium	<i>S. Pelino</i> - -	VII.
Interpromium	<i>S. Valentino</i> - -	XII.
Teate Marrucinatorum	<i>Chieti</i> - -	XIII.
Hadriam	<i>Atri</i> - -	XXIV.

From Corfinium a cross-road led into Samnium by Sulmo and Mount Palenus. The stations in the Table are,

Corfinium	<i>S. Pelino</i>	
Sulmonem	<i>Sulmone</i> - -	VII.
T. Jovis Paleni	<i>Piano di Giove</i> - -	VII.
Aufidenam	<i>Alfadena</i> - -	XXV.

The Via Sublacensis, so called from its being the road to Sublaqueum, now *Subiaco*, is traced in the Table, but in a very unintelligible manner. It appears to have branched off from the Via Valeria at the station called Laminas, now *Ferrata*; and though the distance between that place and *Subiaco* is at most seven or eight miles, twenty-three are assigned in the Table, and that number distributed between three intermediate stations^b. There is then probably some error in the Table, and as that Itine-

^z Holsten. Adnot. p. 153.

^a Id. p. 154.

^b Ital. Ant. i. p. 785.

rary carries the road beyond Sublaqueum to Marrubium, I am inclined to think that some of the apparently superfluous stations belong to that part of it. The stations of the Itinerary being thus reformed, might be supposed to stand in the following order :

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.	
Laminas	<i>Ferrata</i>	-	- M. P.
Sublaqueum	<i>Subiaco</i>	-	- VII.
Vineas	<i>Jenna</i>	-	- V.
Montem Gravem	-	-	- VI.
Montem Carbonarium	<i>Monte Carbonaro</i>	-	- X.
Marrubium	<i>S. Benedetto</i>	-	- VIII.

SECTION VIII.

ROMA.

Origin of Rome—Extent of the city within the walls of Romulus, Servius Tullius, and Aurelian—Its division by Augustus into fourteen regions—Description of these and the most remarkable buildings and monuments contained in each.

IT would require much greater space than the limits of this work will allow of, to examine at length the authenticity of the sources from which the Roman history, such as it has been handed down to us, is derived ; nor is it indeed necessary, since the investigation has been already made by others much more capable of doing justice to so interesting a subject. I shall therefore content myself with offering a few detached remarks, rather than a laboured discussion on the question, referring the reader at the same time to such works as have been written expressly with that view, and are best calculated to direct his judgment on this point ^a.

^a The advocates for the veracity of the early Roman history are Ryckius, whose dissertation has already been quoted ; Nardini, in the first chapter of his *Roma Antica* ; and the Abbé Sallier, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. viii.* On the opposite side are ranged, with fearful preponderance, Cluverius, Gronovius, and other earlier critics ; de Pouilly, *Mém. de l'Acad. de*

Inscript. t. viii. ; Beaufort, *Incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'Histoire Romaine* ; and the *History of Rome* by Mr. de Niebuhr, an eminent German scholar, whose work is deservedly held in great estimation on the continent, and has been twice noticed in the *Quarterly Review*, July 1822, and June of the present year.

Allowing then a considerable degree of doubt and uncertainty to pervade the first records of the Roman history, from the alleged foundation of the city to its capture by the Gauls, for that is a point which Livy himself does not scruple to concede, (VI.1.) we must yet regard even this dubious period as luminous and authentic, when compared with the times which preceded the foundation of Rome. Few sober-minded critics indeed will be disposed to indulge in scepticism, so far as to imagine that every thing which relates to the kings of Rome is fictitious and apocryphal. It appears to me that there are certain facts recorded in the early history of that city, which rest on too undisputed a basis, too universal a consent of authorities, to be easily set aside. Where these are borne out by the succeeding and indubitable parts of the history, and exhibit a connected account of the growth and progress of the constitution of this great city, surely it would be injudicious to reject them, except in the case of evident contradiction or striking improbability. Great uncertainty exists, no doubt, on many points; but after all it is more in matters of detail than of real importance, and especially in the relation of those petty events and circumstances with which Livy and Dionysius have perhaps, without due discrimination, endeavoured to dress up the meagre chroniclers who preceded them, and to infuse some spirit into the dry records of the pontifical volumes. Let us retrench, if it must be so, the gaudy decorations and fanciful ornaments with which these historians have embellished their work, but let us not at the same time overthrow the whole fabric. We may prune what is exuberant or decayed, and weed what is rank and unprofitable;

but we must beware, in the process, of encroaching upon what is sound, or rooting out what is wholesome and nutritious. Let it be granted, that the rape of the Sabine women is a fiction, it may still be true that Tatius and his Curetes were once masters of Rome. Though it be uncertain with respect to the Horatii and Curiatii, which belonged to Rome, and which to Alba, we may still believe that the latter city sank beneath its more powerful rival. The elder Tarquin's reign does not cease to be an historical fact, because we hear an absurd story of an eagle uncovering his head on his arrival at the gates of Rome.

The constitution said to have been framed by Servius Tullius, may have been the result of longer experience and more practical wisdom than falls to the lot of a single reign; but it was such a constitution as Rome did receive, and which it was afterwards enabled to bring to a state of greater perfection than any ancient form of government that we are acquainted with.

Suppose the story of Lucretia false, we cannot deny that monarchy was abolished at Rome, and made way for consular authority about the time that Livy pretends, though that historian may be wrong in giving Valerius Publicola, and not Horatius Barbatus, as a colleague to Brutus^b. The valour of

^b This fact we learn from the first of the celebrated treaties between the Romans and Carthaginians, recorded by Polybius. (II. 23.) We see also in that treaty Rome considered as mistress of Latium, and regarded as a maritime power at that early period; circumstances,

which, according to Mons. de Beaufort, do not agree with the received historical notions on those points. But it may be replied, that Livy ascribes to Rome a decided control over the Latins under the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. (I. 52.) As to her maritime force, that could

Horatius Cocles, and the fortitude of Mutius Scævola, may be left to the admiration of schoolboys; but the siege of Rome by Porsenna is no idle tale invented for their amusement, though it should be proved that the consequences of that event were not so honourable to the Romans as Livy has chosen to represent them. (Tacit. Hist. III. 72. Plin. XXXIV. 14.) It is a disputed point, whether two or five tribunes of the people were elected at first; but does that doubt invalidate the fact of the secession to the Mons Sacer? Cancel three-fourths of the Roman victories and triumphs over the Æqui and Volsci, will it be less true that the former were nearly exterminated, the latter completely subjugated? Say it was gold, and not the valour of her dictator and his troops, which delivered Rome from the Gauls; she may surely boast of having lived to revenge herself on the barbarian foe, and of having, by a hundred triumphs, blotted out the stain of that transaction, and of the shameful rout on the banks of the Allia. In short, though we may sometimes pause when reading the early annals of Rome, and hesitate what judgment to form on many of the events which they record, there are landmarks enough to prevent us from straying far from our course, and to lead us on safely to the terra firma of her history.

But we have not the same assistance for tracing our way, nor the same guarantees to certify us that

be but small; she might have some few vessels at Ostia, and her influence might extend over those of Antium, and the other Latin ports. But she certainly

had not a single galley till the first Punic war.

The Carthaginians had probably another treaty of the same nature with the Tuscans.

we are treading in the right path, when we come to explore the truth of the accounts on which the origin of Rome, and the actions of its reputed founder must mainly depend for their credibility. On the contrary, after reading all that Plutarch has said in the opening of his life of Romulus, and all that Dionysius has collected on the subject, it is impossible not to feel convinced that the received story of the foundation of Rome rests on very questionable grounds. Here it is not merely the more undisguised appearance of fiction, or the greater frequency of the marvellous, which is calculated to awaken suspicion; but it is the inconsistency and improbability of the whole, as an attempt to explain the first rise and progress of unquestionably the most interesting city of antiquity, which ought to startle the mind, and revolt the judgment of the philosopher and the critic. It is not also because these tales are to be traced to a Greek source that I would reject them; for I am inclined to think that the early Greek historians who made the antiquities of Italy their study, and they form a numerous class^c, were better informed about what they wrote, and more trust-

^c Antiochus of Syracuse, and other Sicilian Greek writers, such as Timæus, Alcimus, and Philistus, had preserved traditions of the early state of Italy long before the foundation of Rome, and it was from them that Diodorus chiefly derived his materials. (Heyne de Font. Hist. Diodori Comment. Soc. Gott. t. vii.) Theagenes and Glaucus of Rhegium, Aristonicus of Tarentum, Hyperochus of Cumæ, all wrote on the an-

tiquities of Italy. (Vossius, Hist. Græc.) Rome is mentioned for the first time by Scylax the geographer, who is supposed to have written about the time of Pericles; but that city does not appear to have been known to Aristotle. Theopompus, Theophrastus, and Clitarchus, who flourished about the same time, were the first to make mention of the Romans in their writings. (Plin. III. 5.)

worthy, than perhaps they are generally allowed to be. The objection rather lies against the particular authority on whose testimony they seem entirely to rest for support. Diocles of Peparethus, an author mentioned by no one else, is said by Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, to have been the first to accredit the received accounts of the circumstances relative to the origin of Rome; and it was upon his authority that Fabius Pictor, the earliest Roman historian, brought them into repute with his countrymen. Now unless we are informed what peculiar sources of information were open to this obscure writer, which were not possessed by the other early historians of his nation to whom the name of Romulus seems to have been known, there can be no reason why we should give him the preference. It will not be enough to say, that the approval of Fabius is a sufficient testimony in his favour; for as his account of the birth of their founder was most flattering to the vanity of the Romans, their partiality towards him would be easily accounted for, and, by a natural consequence, would tend to lower rather than raise our opinion of his credibility. But the most solid objection which can be urged against the popular account of the foundation of Rome by Romulus, is chiefly grounded on the inconsistency of the circumstances under which that city is said to have commenced its political career, with the character and condition which is ascribed to it immediately after. If it be true that Romulus was surrounded by so much state and dignity, and possessed not only the insignia of royalty, but also a force such as no despicable city could display, since we are told that he could bring into the field formidable armies, then

we may assert confidently that Rome did not date its beginning from a motley assemblage of lawless depredators and runaway slaves, and that its first walls held within their circuit something more than the lowly huts of shepherds, or the rude palace of a village king. Nor were there traditions wanting to give strength to such an hypothesis, by ascribing to this great city an existence anterior to that which it had afterwards as a colony of Alba.

According to Antiochus of Syracuse, a very early writer on Italian antiquities, the name of Rome would appear to have been known as far back as the time of the Siculi, the first possessors of Latium. (Dion. Hal. II. 73.) That Saturnia was a name once given to Rome, or at least to one of the seven hills, and probably to the Capitol, seems very generally admitted by ancient writers.

Hæc duo præterea disjectis oppida muris,
Reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.
Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem :
Janiculum huic, illi fuerat, Saturnia nomen.

ÆN. VIII. 355.

A patre dicta meo quondam Saturnia Roma est.

OVID. FAST. VI. 31.

This is also affirmed by Varro, on the authority of Ennius. (de Ling. Lat. IV. Dion. Hal. I. 45. Plin. III. 5.^d)

^d I am inclined to think that the name of Saturnia must be referred to the Siculi. This idea derives support from the expression

.... Σικελῶν Σατορνίαν αἶαν

in the oracle, supposed to have been delivered to the Pelasgi

at Dodona, though it carries on the face of it evidence of being an absurd imposture. (Dion. Hal. I. 19.) There was also in Etruria a city of this name, which was probably a settlement of the same people. See p. 222.

The settlement of Evander and his Arcadians on the Palatine hill appears likewise to be supported by the concurrent testimony of ancient writers. The indications of the existence of such a colony on the banks of the Tiber may be seen in Dionysius. (I. 32.) This writer states that Evander arrived about sixty years before the Trojan war. (Cf. Pausan. Arcad.) It is not probable that he actually came from Arcadia, as that district could never have been a maritime country ; but we must consider him as one of those numerous Pelasgic adventurers, who, after the settlement of the Tyrrheni, and the expulsion of the Siculi, migrated from Greece into Italy. The arrival of Evander in Latium is an interesting fact in the history of that country, as he is said to have introduced a knowledge of letters, and other arts with which the Latins were then unacquainted^e. (Dion. Hal. I. 33. Tacit. Ann. XI. 14.)

The various revolutions and different changes of possessors which Rome may have undergone, from the days of Evander to the time of its reputed foundation, must be left open to conjecture ; but it is not probable that it should have remained unoccupied during the 450 years which must have intervened between those two periods.

Among the several traditions respecting Romulus which appear to have been preserved by some of the earliest Greek writers, there are not a few which represent that hero as the son of Æneas, and the founder of a city in Italy not long after the Trojan

^e Few persons will be inclined to adopt the visionary notions of Cluverius on the subject of Evander, who is considered by him both as the pro-

totype of Æneas and Romulus, and the real founder of Rome, or Valentia, as it was called by the Latins. (Ital. Ant. II. p. 838.)

war. And Dionysius himself, who quotes these ancient authors, seems inclined to think that this notion might not be divested of probability ; in which case Rome would have been only recolonized by the Alban Romulus. There is another tradition recorded by Plutarch on the subject of Rome, which, however obscure, appears to me to be not unworthy of notice. It stated that Romus, the founder of that city, was a Latin chief, who had expelled the Tyrrheni. If, as we are assured, the Tuscans once held dominion over nearly the whole of Italy, and certainly over the Volsci, as Servius asserts on the authority of Cato, (ad *Æn.* XI. 567.) it is probable that the Latins were under the same subjection. Rome also, if it then existed, must have shared the same condition ; and this is a circumstance which would readily account for the adoption of the many rites and institutions, both civil and religious, for which the Romans allowed that they were indebted to the Etruscans. As an instance of this may be adduced Livy's statement, that the city had been founded according to the ceremonies and observances peculiar to that people. (I. 17.) The names of the three tribes into which Rome was first divided by Romulus were affirmed to be Etruscan by Volumnius, a writer of that nation quoted by Varro. (de Ling. Lat. IV. 9. Fest. Frag.) We know that the whole doctrine of augural and sacrificial rites used by the Romans was derived from the same origin, as well as the insignia of magistracy and office, nay, even their military tactics, if we are to believe Athenæus. (VI. 21.) Nor was the influence of the Tuscan in the formation of the Latin language less apparent, as we are assured by ancient grammarians. (Agret. ed. Putsch.

p. 2269. Varr. Ling. Lat. VI. 3. ^f) Allowing then the fact of Rome having once been in the hands of the Tuscans, it is easy to see why the Romans should have been silent on the subject. They might have been anxious to conceal the circumstance, partly from national vanity, and partly also from religious motives; for it would ill agree with the former to confess that they had once been subject to a foreign yoke; nor would the latter permit them to avow to the people that the city which they inhabited had been founded under auspices not their own, and had existed under the protection of other gods. And possibly the sacred and mysterious name by which Rome was also designated, and to reveal which was an offence punishable with death, was no other than that which it had received from its more ancient possessors. (Macrob. Saturn. III. 9. Plin. III. 5.) After all, this is more a point of speculative inquiry than of historical discussion, and from it little can be gained, except a confirmation of the complete state of doubt and uncertainty in which we are placed as to the real time and circumstances of the foundation of Rome.

In treating of the topography of ancient Rome it is usual with antiquaries to consider that city at three distinct periods of its existence; under Romulus, Servius Tullius, and Aurelian, as comprehending every addition or change which is known to have taken place in its extent and the circuit of its walls.

From what has been said, it is plain that the extent of Rome under the first of these periods cannot

^f The affinity of the Tuscan and Latin dialects is a point much insisted upon by Lanzi, t. i. p. 43.

now be ascertained, though we may meet with topographers who define its limits with as much confidence and precision as those of any modern capital in Europe. We must perhaps rest satisfied with knowing generally, that the city of Romulus is said to have occupied at first only the Palatine hill. (Liv. I. 6.)

Inde petens dextram, porta est ait ista Palati
Hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.

OVID. TRIST. III. ELEG. 1.

That its figure was square is affirmed by Festus, who quotes a verse of Ennius to that effect.

Et quis extiterit Romæ regnare quadratæ.

This is confirmed by Dionysius (I. 88.) and Solinus (c. 2.)

If we may believe Tacitus, the Capitol was taken in by Tatius. (Ann. XII. 2.) According to Dionysius, the Cœlian and Quirinal hills were added at the same time. (II. 50.)

Pliny tells us, that the city had at this time three, or at most four gates. According to Nardini^g these

Porta Romanula.
Mugonia.
Trigonia.

were Porta Romanula, (Varr. Ling. Lat. IV. 34.) Porta Mugonia, so called from the lowing of cattle, (Id. eod. loc.) and Porta Trigonia. The former of these faced the Capitol and Forum; the second led to the Esquiline hill; the third looked towards the Aventine. The Capitol had also two gates; Porta Carmentalis, near the foot of the Tarpeian rock towards the Tiber, (Plut. Camill. Solin. 2.) and Porta Janualis, which afterwards was converted into a temple of Janus. (Varr. Ling. Lat. IV. 34.)

Carmentalis.

Janualis.

^g Rom. Antica, i. 3.

From the time of Romulus to the reign of Servius Tullius, Rome received all the aggrandizement which the nature of its situation, and the increase of its population seemed to render desirable. Under the latter king the seven hills were included, and even the Janiculum on the right bank of the Tiber. As several remains of the walls of that period are yet visible, antiquaries have been able to fix their circuit with tolerable precision; especially as Dionysius states that it was nearly equal to that of the walls of Athens, which we know from Thucydides to have been about sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half; (Dion. Hal. IX. 68. Thuc. II. 13.) and though Pliny estimates the circumference of Rome at thirteen miles, it seems to be generally admitted that we ought to read eight. (Plin. III. 5.^h)

In endeavouring to trace the walls of Servius, I shall follow an able Roman antiquary who has made several improvements on Nardini's workⁱ. Beginning at the Pons Palatinus, now *Ponte Rotto*, which they included, they advanced to the Porta Carmentalis at the foot of the Tarpeian rock; from thence they followed the heights of the Capitol as far as the church of *Araceli*, and then descended into the hollow between the *Campidoglio* and the Quirinal, thus excluding the tomb of Caius Publicius Bibulus, (Cic. de Leg. II. 23.) and the ground subsequently occupied by the Forum of Trajan. Ascend-

^h Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 68. Nibby, Disc. Prel. a'due, primi libri del Nardini, p. 25.

ed. quart. Rom. Riscontrata ed accresciuta delle ultime scoperte, con note ed osservazioni critico antiquarie di Antonio Nibby. Roma, 1718.

ⁱ Roma Antica di Nardini,

ing the Quirinal, the walls followed the sinuosities of that hill through the gardens of the *Colonna* family, and afterwards behind those of the *Vigna Barberini*, on which site some remains of these old fortifications are said to be visible. From this point a sort of terrace or rising ground may be observed, which follows for some time the direction of the road leading from the *Porta Pia* to the *Porta Salara*, and afterwards stretches behind the baths of Diocletian, till it is again lost near the arch of Gallienus. This is the famous Agger of Servius Tullius, raised, according to Dionysius, from the *Porta Esquilina* to the *Collina*, being somewhat less than a mile in length, and about fifty feet in breadth. (Dion. Hal. IX. 68.) This part of the works of Servius is supposed to have been amplified and completed by Tarquin, his successor. (Dion. Hal. IV. 54.) From the arch of Gallienus the walls of Servius can be traced to the *Porta S. Lorenzo*, and still further, by the *Porta Maggiore* and the church of *S^a. Croce in Gerusalemme*, to the *Porta di S. Giovanni in Laterano*. From thence they passed behind the hospital of *S. Giovanni Laterano*, and along the heights of the Cœlian hill to the *Porta Capena*, which is known to have stood close to the southern angle of the *Villa Mattei*. From this gate the walls ascended Mount Aventine, and following its direction terminated near the church of *S^a. Maria Aventina*, close to the Tiber and the Pons Sublicius, which they took in. On the other side of the Tiber, the walls of Servius, or rather those of Ancus Martius, encompassed that portion of the city which is now called *Trastevere*, up to the summit of the Janicu-

lum; the line of enclosure being pretty much the same as that which is traced by the walls now existing.

Such was the extent of Rome under Servius, and this was preserved with but little alteration till the time of Aurelian. But though the walled limits of the city remained nearly the same during this long interval, it is not to be supposed that it really received no increase; every time that the pomœrium was extended the city received a corresponding enlargement, though the walls might remain stationary. Thus we hear of the pomœrium being advanced by Sylla, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus^k, (*Sen. de brev. vit.* 14. *Fest. v. Prosimurium*) without its being said that the walls were altered. In some directions it appears that the pomœrium had not been carried forward in proportion with the rest, and therefore it became necessary to advance it on that side at a later period, as was the case with the Aventine, which though included within the walls of Servius, was without the pomœrium till the reign of Claudian, who is expressly said to have extended this boundary beyond that mount. (*Tacit. Ann. XII.* 24.¹) We are in fact assured by Dionysius, that the walled boundaries of Rome were not different in his time from what they were in that of Ser-

^k The pomœrium was a consecrated space marked out for religious purposes, both within and without the walls, and not allowed to be built upon. (*Liv.* 1. 44. *Varr. Ling. Lat.* IV. 32.)

¹ I have followed the opinion of Nardini in making a distinction between the extension of the walls, and that of the po-

moœrium, though I am aware it is controverted. It has the sanction of D'Anville, in his valuable *Memoir* on the extent of Rome, (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* t. xxx. p. 206.) and of Brotier, in a note to Tacitus, (*XII.* 24.) which is full of learning and information on the subject.

vius, as they were held sacred. It is not however to be supposed that Rome itself was confined within the actual enclosure of these walls; much the larger portion consisted of what might be termed the suburbs, the name of city being applied to every part of it which was connected by continuous buildings. (Dion. Hal. IV. 13.) Antiquaries are not precisely agreed as to the increase made in the circuit of the walls of Rome by Aurelian. If we are to believe Vopiscus, it must have been very considerable, as he estimates the new circumference at fifty miles; but if it be true, as Eutropius says, that Aurelian's object was to add to the fortifications of the city, it could scarcely have been attained by so vast an expanse; we know too that the circuit of the walls by actual measurement, in the time of Honorius, was computed at twenty-one miles. (Olympiod. ap. Phot. p. 197.) But even this account is supposed to be exaggerated, and the best judges agree in conceiving that the line of the present walls of the city is pretty much the same as that which Aurelian traced, though little of that emperor's work be actually standing^m. We may safely admit with Nardini, that the enclosure of the Campus Martius is to be ascribed to him, and that he likewise gave a greater extent to the walls of Rome between the *Porta Salaria* and the *Porta S. Lorenzo*, and between the *Porta Maggiore* and the church of *S^a. Croce in Gerusalemme*. It is probable also, that he took into his line of fortification the Amphitheatrum Castrense and Castrum Prætorium. On the other side

^m Nardini Roma Antica, c. 8. D'Anville, Mem. sur l'Étendue de l'Ancienne Rome. (Mem.

de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xxx. p. 210.) Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 70.

of the Tiber he enclosed somewhat more of the Janiculum, from the Porta Portuensis to the Porta Septimiana. The changes that may have since taken place under Belisarius and Narses, and in more modern times under the popes, are unimportant, and need not be dwelt upon here.

All that relates to the gates of ancient Rome is subject to much doubt and uncertainty; partly from the different changes which have taken place in the walls, and partly from the difficulty of distinguishing the modern from the ancient gates, several of the latter having been blocked up, or removed entirely; lastly, from the circumstance of the same gate having borne, as it should seem, different names.

The few that are said to have existed in the days of Romulus have already been noticed. Pliny informs us that in his time there were thirty-seven gates, (but others read twenty-four,) exclusive of seven which no longer existed. (III. 5.) Nardini adopts the former number, and places them in the following order. Porta Flumentana, close to the Tiber near the bridge of *S^a. Maria*. (Liv. XXXV. 21.) The Porta Ratumena was a gate of the Capitol. (Plut. Vit. Public. Plin. VIII. 42. Fest. v. Ratumena.) The Porta Salutaris was on the Quirinal. (Fest. v. Salutaris. Salutaris.)

The gate anciently called Collina, and still more anciently Agonensis, is supposed to answer to the present *Porta Salara*. It was by this gate that the Gauls entered Rome. (Liv. V. 41.) The Porta Viminalis stood on the hill from which it derived its name. (Strab. V. 234.) The Esquiline gate, which, according to the same author, (V. 237.) issued the Via Tiburtina, Prænestina, and Labicana, may be

Querquetulana.
Cœlimontana.

supposed to have been situated near the arch of Gallienus. Between the Esquiline and Cœlian hills was the Porta Querquetulana, (Plin. XVI. 10.) and on the Cœlian the Porta Cœlimontana. (Liv. XXXV. 9.)

Nævia.

Somewhat farther on the Cœlian was the Porta Nævia, spoken of by Varro (de L. Lat. IV. 34.) and Livy, (II. 6.) and near it the gate called Raudusculana. (Varr. loc. cit. and Val. Max. V. 6.)

Raudusculana.
Capena.

The more celebrated Porta Capena, from which the Appian way commenced, is ascertained to have been within the modern gate of *S. Sebastiano*, and nearer the foot of the Cœlian mount. The Porta Lavernalis (Varr. loc. cit.) should be placed near the present gate of *S. Paolo*.

Lavernalis.

The last gate on the left bank of the Tiber, and at the foot of the Aventine, was the Trigemina, which is said to have derived its name from the three Horatii. It appears also to have been called Navalis. (Fest. v. Navalis.)

Trigemina, vel Navalis.

On the other side of the Tiber the gates anciently named Portuensis and Septimiana, answer nearly to the positions of the modern *Porta Portese* and *Settimiana*. (Spart. vit. Sept. Sev. 19.)

Portuensis.
Septimiana.

Sanqualis.

Amongst other gates whose situation is uncertain, we hear of the Porta Sanqualis, (Fest. v. Sanq.)

Metia.
Catularia.
Minutia.
Frumentaria.
Fenestrella.
Ferentina,
vel Piacularis.

Metia, (Plaut. Casina. Act. II. sc. 6.) Catularia, (Fest. v. Catul.), Minutia, (Id. v. Minut.) Frumentaria, (Varr. de R. Rust. I. 2.) Fenestrella, (Ovid. Fast. VI. 578. Plut. Quæst. Rom. 36.) Ferentina, (Id. Romul.) the same probably as the Piacularis of Festus v. Piacul.

The changes introduced by Aurelian in the lines of Rome necessarily caused an alteration in several

of the gates. The few that were added are nearly all in use at the present day : they are the Porta Aurelia, Flaminia, Pinciana, Ostiensis. Procopius reckoned in his time fourteen principal gates, besides some smaller ones. (de Bell. Got. I. 5.)

Aurelia,
Flaminia,
Pinciana,
Ostiensis.

Rome under Servius had been divided into four regions, as we learn from Varro, who has also specified their names, (de Ling. Lat. IV.) They were the Suburana, Esquilina, Collina, and Palatina. The Suburana comprised chiefly the Cœlian mount ; the Collina, both the Quirinal and Viminal ; the situation of the other two evidently coincided with that of the hills from which they derived their names. This division is thought to have been in use until the reign of Augustus, when a new arrangement was rendered necessary by the vast increase of the city, during so long an interval. He now divided Rome into fourteen regions, and these were again subdivided into vici, which may be considered as parishes ; of these Suetonius says there were above a thousand. (Aug. 30.) In the time of Vespasian the number of the regions remained the same, but they were further divided into compita, or wards, which amounted, according to Pliny, to 265. (XXX. 50.) There is every reason for believing that the same division prevailed till the decline of the Roman empire, and the fall of Rome itself, without any variation as to the limits of the regions themselves, whatever change may have taken place in the buildings they contained, or in the names and arrangement of parishes, streets, &c.

Very ample lists of these several regions, and of the different buildings, both public and private, contained in each, have been preserved to us by

Publius Victor and Sextus Rufus, individuals of consular rank, who are supposed to have lived about the time of Valentinian and Constantine. There is also a detailed catalogue of the fourteen regions in the notice of the western empire. The learned Panvinus was the first among the moderns who compiled from these and other sources a full account of the ancient state of Rome. But no one has done more to illustrate the antiquities of that city than Nardini, whose erudition and diligence have scarcely left any thing to be supplied by subsequent writers to the information he has imparted on this subject^r. It is from his work entirely that I shall extract the following abridged account of the fourteen regions, and their most remarkable buildings and monuments.

REGIO PRIMA.

PORTA CAPENA.

This region, of whose limits little else is known, except the fact that it was entirely without the walls of Servius, took its name from the Porta Capena, the most celebrated of the gates of Rome. The origin of the name is unknown, as it cannot be supposed to have any reference to the Etruscan town so called, since it was situated in a very opposite direction. The position of this gate has been fixed by modern discoveries posterior to Nardini, close to the church of *S. Nereo* and the *Villa Mattei*. That able antiquary had placed it too near the modern gate of *S. Sebastiano*. It is therefore in that vicinity

^r The edition of Nardini which I have used is that published in Rome in 1818, with some valuable additions, corrections, and notes, by Antonio Nibby, in 4 vols. 8vo.

that we must seek for the following edifices and sites belonging to ancient Rome, and noticed by her writers.

To the right of the gate was a temple of Mars, Ædes Martis.
as Ovid informs us,

Lux eadem Marti festa est: quem prospicit ipsa
Appositum dextræ Porta Capena viæ.

FAST. VI. 191.

Livy (X. 23.) and Servius place it near the Appian way. (ad Æn. I. 296.) Propertius also probably alludes to the same temple, when he says,

Armaque quum tulero portæ votiva Capenæ,
Subscribam, salvo grata puella viro.

IV. EL. 3.

In the same vicinity we must also look for a stream or fountain sacred to Mercury, with which Aqua Mercurii. the tradesmen of Rome, on the day of his festival, performed certain expiatory ablutions described by Ovid.

Est aqua Mercurii, Portæ vicina Capenæ;
Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.
Huc venit incinctus tunica mercator, et urna
Purus suffita, quam ferat, haurit aquam.
Uda fit hinc laurus; lauro sparguntur ab uda
Omnia, quæ dominos sunt habitura novos.

FAST. V. 673.

From Livy we know that the tomb of the murdered sister of Horatius was not far distant from the Sepulchrum Horatiæ. same gate. (I. 10.) The two temples sacred to Honour and Virtue, which Marcellus is said to have Ædes Honoris et Virtutis. built according to a vow, (Liv. XXVII. 25.) and which were dedicated by his son, (XXIX. 11. Val. Max. I. 1.) were likewise in this vicinity. As also a temple consecrated by L. Cornelius Scipio to the goddess Tempestas, on his having narrowly escaped Ædes Tempestatis.

with his fleet in a storm near the island of Corsica ; this fact is recorded by the inscription on his tomb. Ovid alludes to it, (Fast. VI. 193.)

Te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur ;
Cum pene est Corsis obruta classis aquis.

Horti Cras-
sipedis.

Senaculum
ad Portam
Capenam.

Arcus
Drusi.

Almo Fl.

We may place hereabouts too the Thermæ Severianæ, of which Spartianus speaks, (c. 19.) and the gardens or walks of Crassipes, often mentioned by Cicero, and a favourite resort of that illustrious character, (ad Fam. I. 9. and ad Quint. Fratr. III. 7.) Festus mentions one of the four Senacula of Rome, as being near the Porta Capena, v. Senacul. These were small buildings outside the walls, in which the senate met to confer with generals who claimed the honours of the triumph. The arch of Drusus, of which Suetonius speaks, (Claud. 1.) still subsists near the *Porta S. Sebastiano*. At no great distance from this modern gate the road crosses a little stream, which answers to the ancient Almo, now *Acqua Santa*. This rivulet was celebrated for the lustral rites which were performed in it in honour of Cybele.

Et parvo lotam revocant Almone Cybelem.

LUCAN. I. 600.

Est locus, in Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo,

Et nomen magno perdit in amne minor.

Illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos,

Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis.

OVID. FAST. IV. 337.

Phrygiæque Matris Almo qua lavat ferrum.

MART. III. EP. 47.

Vallis et
Pons Ege-
riæ.

It rises at the head of a small valley now called *la Caffarella*, and which, according to the popular

opinion, answers to the valley of Egeria, while the source of the Almo is thought to correspond with the fountain sacred to that nymph, at least to that which Juvenal describes in his third Satire, v. 10.

Sed dum tota domus rheda componitur una,
Substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam;
Hic, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.

* * * *

In vallem Egeriæ descendimus et speluncas
Dissimiles veris. Quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenum violarent marmora tophum.

The Circus, which is still to be seen in good pre-
servation between the *Porta S. Sebastiano* and the Circus Ca-
racellæ. monument called *Capo di Bove*, is usually ascribed to Caracalla, because a similar edifice is represented on some medals of that emperor. The statues of Caracalla and his mother have also been discovered not far from thence. A small building of terra cotta, which stands still more to the left of the Via Appia, is commonly pointed out as the temple of Rediculus, or the god of return, which was built on Fanum Re-
diculi. the spot from which Hannibal began his retreat after his last approach to Rome. (Fast. v. Redicul. Plin. X. 43.) It is more probably however the little temple of Hercules, noticed by Martial.

Ædícula
Herculis.

Capena grandi porta, qua pluit gutta,
Phrygiæque Matris Almo qua lavat ferrum,
Horatorum qua viret sacer campus,
Et qua pusilli fervet Herculis fanum.

III. EP. 47.

In the same vicinity must have stood the tomb of Sepul-
chrum
Priscillæ. Priscilla, of which Statius speaks :

Est locus ante urbem, qua primum nascitur ingens
 Appia, quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybele
 Pōnit, et Idæos jam non reminiscitur amnes.
 Hic te Sidonio velatam molliter ostro,
 Eximius conjux, nec enim fumantia busta,
 • Clamoremque rogi potuit perferre, beato
 Composuit, Priscilla, toro.

SILV. V. 1. 222.

Ædes
 Fortunæ
 Muliebris.

Near the fourth milestone of the Via Latina, which was to the left of the Appian way, was the temple, raised and consecrated to Fortuna Muliebris after the retreat of Coriolanus, at the intercession of his mother and wife, and other Roman matrons. (Val. Max. I. 8, 4. Fest. v. Pudicit.)

Besides the public buildings which have been already spoken of as belonging to the first region, there were others also of a private nature, which deserve to be recorded. Of these, the tomb of the Scipio family is unquestionably the most interesting. It was well known from a celebrated passage in Cicero, that this deposit of illustrious dead stood without the Porta Capena; (Tusc. Disp. I. 7.) but the precise spot had not been ascertained till the year 1780, when it was discovered accidentally in the *Vigna Sassi*, and near the church of *S. Cesareo*. The tomb of Metella Cretica, the wife of Crassus, now known by the name of *Capo di Bove*, is the only considerable monument of the same nature which has been identified with certainty, besides the one I have just pointed out.

REGIO SECUNDA.

CÆLIMONTANA.

The second region, as the name by which it was distinguished sufficiently implies, was almost wholly situated on the Cœlian hill, and consequently was included within the walls of Servius. It is chiefly to be noticed as containing the Suburra, one of the ^{Suburra.} most populous and busy parts of ancient Rome°. Varro gives various etymologies of that name, (de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.) but I confess that they all appear equally unsatisfactory, and, with many other appellations belonging to Rome, I would refer it to an early state of things in that city with which we are wholly unacquainted. The origin of the name of Cœlius Mons is not much better determined, though ^{Cœlius mons.} it seems agreed that it was so called from Cœlius Vibenna, an Etruscan chief, who once resided there. (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 8. Fest. v. Cœlius. Tacit. Ann. IV. 65.)

If the Suburra was one of the most frequented parts of Rome, it was also the most profligate.

Jamne tibi exciderunt vigilacis furta Suburæ,
Et mea nocturnis trita fenestra dolis?

PROPERT. IV. ELEG. 7.

Senem, quod omnes videant, adulterum
Latrent Suburanæ canes.

HOR. EPOD. 5. 57.

° Nardini proves, I think, satisfactorily, that the ancient Suburra did not occupy the same position with the modern division of this name. The former seems to have been ap-

plied to all the space which lies between the Cœlian and Esquiline hills; the latter is only a street leading from the Esquiline to the Viminal. (Nard. Rom. Ant. III. 6.)

Famæ non nimium bonæ puellam,
 Quales in media sedent Suburrâ,
 Vendebat modo præco Gellianus.

MART. VI. EP. 66.

The term Suburra is sometimes used synonymously with that of Rome, especially by Juvenal.

—Ego vel Prochytam præpono Suburræ.

SAT. III. 5.

Actum, inquit, nihil est, nisi Pæno milite portas
 Frangimus, et media vexillum pono Suburra.

ID. X. 155.

The same poet speaks of fish from the Tiber being caught in the sewers of the Suburra.

Aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
 Vernula riparum pinguis torrente cloaca,
 Et solitus mediæ cryptam penetrare Suburræ.

SAT. V. 104.

Domus
 J. Cæsaris.

Cæsar is said to have first lived in this part of Rome, and in rather an humble dwelling. (Suet. Cæs. 46.)

Ædícula
 Minervæ
 Capitæ.

On the base of the Cœlian hill we hear of a temple of Minerva Capita.

Cœlius ex alto, qua mons descendit in æquum;
 Hic, ubi non plana est, sed prope plana via est;
 Parva licet videas Capitæ delubra Minervæ,
 Quæ Dea natali cœpit habere suo.
 Nominis in dubio caussa est: capitale vocamus
 Ingenium sollers, ingeniosa Dea est.

OVID. FAST. III. 835.

This is probably the same building as the Minervium of Varro. (de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.)

The remainder of the second region was placed

on that part of the Cœlian hill, which was distinguished by the name of Cœliolus, or Cœlius Minor. Cœliolus.

Dum per limina te potentiorum
Sudatrix toga ventilat, vagumque
Major Cœlius, et minor fatigant.

MART. XII. EP. 18.

Here stood the Curia Hostilia, of which the remains, as they are commonly said to be, are shewn to the traveller; but the style of their architecture is of too recent a character to have been adopted in so ancient an edifice: the site of these ruins may still however be the same as that once held by the senate-house of Hostilius, though every visible trace of that building has long since disappeared. Curia Hostilia.

The church of *S. Stefano Rotondo* is usually thought to represent a temple erected to the emperor Claudius by Agrippina, and terminated by Vespasian, (Suet. Vespas. 9.) but probably it is nothing more than an early Christian church. Horseraces in honour of Mars were sometimes held on the Cœlian hill when the Tiber overflowed the Campus Martius; hence that part of the hill in which the sports took place was called Campus Martialis. Campus Martialis.
(Fest. v. Martial.)

Altera gramineo spectabis Equiria campo,
Quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis.
Qui tamen ejecta si forte tenebitur unda,
Cœlius accipiat pulverulentus equos.

OVID. FAST. III. 519.

It is well known that the church of *S. Giovanni in Laterano* derives the latter part of its name from being supposed to occupy the site of the house of Plautius Lateranus, an illustrious Roman, who was put to death by Nero as being implicated in a Domus Laterani.

conspiracy formed against that emperor by Piso and others. (Tacit. Ann. XV. 60.)

Temporibus diris igitur jussuque Neronis
 Longinum et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
 Clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
 Tota cohors. JUV. SAT. X. 15.

Domus
 Veri.

We learn from Capitolinus that Marcus Aurelius was born and educated in the house of his grandfather Verus, on the Cœlian mount, and close to the palace of Lateranus. On the Cœliolus was a little temple of Diana, which Cicero notices. (Orat. pro Arusp. Resp. 15.) Of the two great markets of Rome, one, as we learn from Rufus and Victor, was situated in this region, and probably was the most considerable, as it is distinguished in their catalogues by the title of Magnum Macellum. The Mica Aûrea, which is found in the same documents, may have been the house of entertainment of which Martial speaks. (II. Ep. 59.)

Ædicula
 Dianæ.

Magnum
 Macellum.
 Mica Au-
 rea.

Mica vocor ; quid sim, cernis, cœnatio parva.

Ex me Cæsareum prospicis, ecce, tholum.

Frangere toros : pete vina ; rosas cape : tingere nardo :

Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse Deus.

Mica was the name of a Greek female mentioned by Plutarch. (de Clar. Mul.)

Domus
 Centu-
 mali.

On the Cœlian was also situated the house of T. Cl. Centimalus, who had sold it to Calpurnius, knowing that it was to be pulled down by order of the college of Augurs, but was obliged to refund the purchase money. (Cic. de Off. III.) Also those of Ju-

Domus Ju-
 nii.
 Domus
 Mamurræ.

nus, a senator, (Tacit. Ann. IV. 64.) and Mamurra, a knight, who is said to have been the first at Rome

to inlay the walls of his house with marble. The pillars were likewise of this substance, and were brought from Luna or Carystus. (Plin. XXXVI. 6.) To guard against accidents by fire during the night, Augustus had formed a body of men, and distributed ^{Cohortes Vigilum.} them in different parts of the city for the purpose of keeping watch; they were called “cohortes vigilum;” five seem to have been stationed on Mount Cœlius, according to Rufus and Victor: but as it appears that Augustus only appropriated seven cohorts, two for each region of the city, (Suet. Aug. 30. Dio. Cass. LV.) we must conclude that their number was subsequently considerably increased. Juvenal seems to allude to these watchmen when he says,

Dispositis prædives hamis vigilare cohortem
 Servorum noctu Licinus jubet, attonitus pro
 Electro, signisque suis, Phrygiaque columna,
 Atque ebore, et lata testudine.

SAT. XIV. 304.

REGIO TERTIA.

ISIS ET SERAPIS.

The third region comprised nearly all the space which lies between the Cœlian and Esquiline hills, and also a considerable portion of the latter, especially on that side which faces the south. It derived its name from a temple dedicated to Isis and Serapis; probably the same which Augustus is said to have consecrated with Marc Antony. (Dio. Cass. XLVII.) It is also sometimes designated by the appellation of Moneta, from which it may be concluded that it contained also a statue or temple of Juno, surnamed Moneta. (Cic. de Div. I. 45. Liv. Moneta. VII. 28.)

Amphi-
theatrum
Flavianum
vulgo Co-
losseum.

The most considerable, as well as most interesting edifice in this region, was, however, the amphitheatre of Vespasian, or, as its ruins are vulgarly called, the Coliseum, a word which is no other than a corruption of the term Colosseum, by which that huge pile of building was usually distinguished at a period which cannot now be determined^p. So many works have been expressly written on this stupendous monument of Roman magnificence, that I shall only refer the reader to the few passages in ancient authors which take notice of it.

Suetonius informs us that it had first been projected by Augustus, was commenced by Vespasian, and finished by Titus. (Vesp. 9. Tit. 7.) From a medal struck on the occasion, we learn that it was dedicated and opened for the first time by this last emperor, in the eighth year of his consulship, and the eightieth of the Christian era. It was built on ground which had formerly been occupied by some pools belonging to Nero's golden palace, and which are said to have been used for naval fights and exhibitions. (Suet. Ner. 31.)

Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.

MART. DE SPECT. 2.

The same poet describes it as it stood in its most perfect state under Domitian.

^p Nardini and other antiquaries have supposed, that it acquired the name of Colosseum from the statue of Nero of colossal size, which was placed in front of it. But there is no evi-

dence whatever of this fact, and the other opinion is much more probable. Nibby, Append. ad Nard. III. 9. p. 239. Burton's Ant. of Rome, p. 338.

Barbara pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis,
 Assiduus jactet nec Babylona labor :
 Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea
 Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant
 Omnis Cæsareo cedat labor amphitheatro,
 Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.

MART. DE SPECT. 1.

Having suffered by fire under Antoninus Pius, it was repaired by that emperor. (Câpitol. Anton. Pio. 8.) In the reign of Macrinus it was again nearly destroyed from the same circumstance, (Dio. Cass. LXXVIII.) but was restored by Alex. Severus ^q. (Lampr. 23.)

In front of the Colosseum was, as Nardini asserts, an open space, which might be the Forum Vespasiani alluded to by Symmachus. (X. Ep. 78.) That part of the third region in which was situated the amphitheatre was distinguished by the name of Ceriolensis, (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.) and formed a portion of the Carinæ, a more extensive and important quarter, and so called, as Nardini not improbably supposes, from its being placed in a hollow between the Cœlian, Esquiline, and Palatine hills. As the greatest part of the Carinæ was situated in the fourth region, I shall defer what yet remains to be said on this subject till the time arrives for describing that region. At the foot of the Esquiline once stood the Portico of Livia, which Augustus caused to be built on the site of a spacious house which he had inherited from Vedius Pollio, and which he

Forum
Vespasiani.

Ceriolen-
sis.

Porticus
Liviae.

^q The reader who wishes to trace the history of the Coliseum farther, will find much information in the work of Ma-

rangoni, entitled, *Memoire dell. Anf. Flavio. Roma, 1746.* And in Nibby's Appendix to Nardini, p. 233. et seq.

pulled down from no very worthy motive. (Dio. Cass. LIV.) Ovid alludes to the circumstance.

Disce tamen, veniens ætas, ubi Livia nunc est
 Porticus, immensæ tecta fuisse domus.
 Urbis opus domus una fuit; spatiumque tenebat,
 Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.
 Hæc æquata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
 Sed quia luxuria visa nocere sua.
 Sustinuit tantas operum subvertere moles,
 Totque suas hæres perdere Cæsar opes.

FAST. VI. 639.

Caput Suburræ.

In this neighbourhood Nardini places the Caput, or commencement of the Suburra, and in it the house of the poet Stella, mentioned by Martial.

Domus Stellæ.

Vel si malueris, prima gradiere Suburra:
 Atria sunt illic Consulis alta mei.
 Laurigeros habitat facundus Stella Penates,
 Clarus Ianthæ Stella petitor aquæ.

XII. EP. 3.

Thermæ Titi Cæs.

Next to the Colosseum, the most remarkable object of which any vestiges remain, are the ruins commonly distinguished by the name of the Baths of Titus. They extend along the southern slope of the Esquiline, from the neighbourhood of the Colosseum to the church of *S. Pietro in Vincoli*, but have been so often described, that it will only be necessary for me to state, on the authority of Suetonius, (Tit. 7.) and the Scholiast of Horace, (Sat. I. 8.) that these baths were constructed on the site of the gardens of Mæcenæ, after the dedication of the Colosseum. The same emperor must have built also a palace in the immediate vicinity of the baths, since Pliny mentions the famous group of the Laocoon, as

one of its principal ornaments; (XXXVI. 5.) and it is well known that this chef-d'œuvre of sculpture was discovered among the ruins above mentioned in the reign of Leo X. This palace of Titus was probably built on the site of the house in which, according to Suetonius, he was born: (Tit. 2.) it could not have been that identical building, for the historian describes it as being very small, and of mean appearance. It stood near what was called the Septizonium, the origin of which term is uncertain, but some trace of it seems to exist in the name of *Septisolio*, which is attached to the church of *S^a. Lucia*, situated near that part of the ruins belonging to the Baths of Titus, called *Sette Sale*. A portion of the ground on which these vast structures and reservoirs were formed, is supposed also, on the authority of Martial, to have been once laid out in gardens, and to have been connected with the golden palace of Nero.

Hic ubi miramur velocia munera Thërmas;

Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.

DE SPECT. 2.

The younger Pliny had a house on the Esquiline, as he himself informs us, (III. Ep. 21.) and Martial likewise.

Nec doctum satis, et parum severum,

Sed non rusticulum nimis libellum,

Facundo mea Plinio, Thalia,

I, perfer: brevis est labor peractæ

Altum vincere tramitem Suburræ. X. EP. 19.

In the same epigram the poet speaks of the house of one Pedito, as being near that of Pliny.

Domus
Peditonis.

Illic parva tui domus Pedonis
Cælata est aquilæ minore penna.

Domus
Pauli.

In another epigram he describes the house of an acquaintance named Paulus, as being likewise situated on the Esquiline.

Mane domi nisi te volui, meruique videre,
Sint mihi, Paulle, tuæ longius Exquilæ.
Sed Tiburtinæ sum proximus accola pilæ;
Qua videt antiquum rustica Flora Jovem.
Alta Suburrani vincenda est semita clivi,
Et nunquam sicco sordida saxa gradu.

V. EP. 22.

REGIO QUARTA.

TEMPLUM PACIS.

The fourth region, which derived its name from the temple of Peace, built by Vespasian after the overthrow of Jerusalem, seems to have been contiguous to the third, and to have occupied in breadth nearly all the space which lies between the Palatine on one side, and the south-western extremity of the Esquiline on the other. In length it reached from the vicinity of the Colosseum to the beginning of the Forum, and the southern angle of the Quirinal.

One of the most interesting points to be considered in tracing the several parts of this region is the direction of the Via Sacra, which unquestionably belonged to it. The origin of the name seems uncertain; (Fest. v. Sacra Via. Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.) but it is well known that this was the street which led directly from the southern gates of Rome to the Capitol, and that by which the Roman generals led thither their victorious troops in triumphant proces-

Via Sacra.

sion. The precise direction of this celebrated street has been much discussed by Roman antiquaries, but the opinion of Nardini seems to be most generally adopted. That able topographer has proved from Varro, (de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.) that the Via Sacra commenced near the Colosseum, and kept near the base of the Esquiline, passing close to the ruins commonly called the temple of Peace, and terminating in the Forum through the Fabian arch.

This arch, as we learn from Asconius, (Com. in ^{Arcus Fabianus.} Verr. II. 7.) was built by Fabius, surnamed Allobrox. (Cf. Cic. pro. Planc. 7.) The commencement of the street, near the Colosseum, was called Summa Sacra Via, where there was a market for fruit (Varr. de. R. Rust. I. 2.) and honey. (Id. R. Rust. III. 16.)

Dum bene dives ager, dum rami pondere nutant ;

Adferat in calatho rustica dona puer.

Rure suburbano poteris tibi dicere missa ;

Illa vel in Sacra sint licet emta Via.

OVID. ART. AMAN. II. 263.

Near the Arcus Fabianus was a public building called Regia, which seems to have been a place of meeting for the priests when summoned by the pontifex. (Fest. v. Regia, Plin. Jun. IV. Ep. II.) A singular custom, connected with this edifice and with the Via Sacra, is mentioned by Festus, as taking place every year in the month of October. A horse was sacrificed to Mars in the Campus Martius, and its tail was to be carried to the Regia with sufficient speed to be able to sprinkle the blood that flowed from it on a blazing altar. The inhabitants of the Suburra are represented as contending with those of the Via Sacra for the head of the animal. (Fest. v.

October equus.) On certain festivals, we learn from Macrobius, (Saturn. I. 16.) that a ram was sacrificed to Jupiter in the Regia. Mars was also worshipped there under the form of a spear. (Aul. Gell. IV. 6. Varr. ap. Clem. Alex. Protrept.) The Basilica, of which Plautus speaks, (Curcul. A. III. Sc. 1.) may have been no other than the building now under consideration.

Templum
Faustinæ.

The temple of Faustina, of which a portion remains attached to the church of *S. Lorenzo in Miranda*, was also on the Via Sacra. (Vopisc. vit. Galien.) If this street continued in a straight line, as it most probably did, it would pass in front of the building whose ruins have till lately been generally looked upon as those of the temple of Peace. I shall not stop to examine whether this opinion or that, which assigns them to the Basilica of Constantine^r is most probable, but I may observe, by the way, that the latter edifice is only known from the catalogues of Rufus and Victor; whereas, if it had been so magnificent a structure as that to which the ruins in question certainly belonged, we should have expected frequent mention to have been made of it in contemporary or subsequent historians. It seems also allowed on all sides, that the column now placed in front of *S^a. Maria Maggiore*, which was found in these ruins, is much too elegant to belong to the age of Constantine. Besides which, the local tradition which has always assigned to these remains of antiquity the name of the temple of Peace, ought to have some weight in settling this disputed point.

Templum
Pacis.

^r See a long note on this subject by Nibby in his edition of Nardini. (III. 12. p. 202.)

We learn from Josephus, that Vespasian deposited in this huge fabric all the spoils which his son Titus brought from Jerusalem. (Bell. Jud. VII. 37.) Attached to the temple was a library. (Aul. Gell. XVI. 8.) Pliny tells us, that it contained a great statue of the Nile, with children playing round it, cut out of one great block of basalt; (XXXVI. 7.) and a celebrated painting of Protogenes. (Id. XXXV. 10.) The temple of Peace was accounted one of the most conspicuous edifices of Rome in the time of Pliny. (XXXVI. 15. Amm. Marcell. XVI.) It was destroyed by fire during the reign of Commodus. (Herodian. I.)

On the Via Sacra were situated also the houses of the Rex Sacrificulus, (Fest. v. Sacra Via.) and of the Pontifex Maximus. (Suet. Cæs. 46.) The former was united to that of the Vestal Virgins, which must have been therefore contiguous, by Augustus. (Dio. Cass. LIV.) Also that of Scipio Nasica, which was assigned to him at the public charge in that street, that he might be consulted with greater facility. (Pompon. Leg. II.)

Nearer the Colosseum are some ruins which are generally supposed to belong to the temple of Venus and Rome, which were built close together by Adrian after his own plan. (Dio. Cass. vit. Hadr.)

Ac Sacram resonare viam mugitibus, ante
Delubrum Romæ; colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More Deæ, nomenque loci, ceu Numen, habetur.
Atque Urbis, Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura Deabus.

PRUD. CONTR. SYMM. v. 214.

In this part of the Via Sacra Nardini places also

Domus
Anci Mar-
tii.

Ædes vel
Sacellum
Larium.

Ara
Orbonæ.

Sacellum
Streniæ.

Colossus.

the house of Ancus Martius, (Solin. 2.) the temple or chapel of the Lares, (Tacit. Ann. XII. 24.) the altar of Orbona, (Cic. de Nat. Deor. 24. Plin. I. 7.) the chapel of Strenia, the goddess of new year's gifts, (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 8. Fest. v. Regia, August. de Civit. Dei, IV. 16.) and the Colossus, 120 feet high, which Nero had placed in the vestibule of his golden house, (Suet. Ner. 31.) but which was removed by Vespasian, and deposited at the extremity of the street here described. (Dio. Cass. LXVI.) This huge statue appears to have been of bronze, but inferior to former works of that metal, as Pliny says that the art of casting them had considerably declined. The head originally was a resemblance of Nero, but by order of Vespasian it was made to represent the sun. (Plin. XXXIV. 7.)

Hic ubi Sydereus propius videt astra Colossus,
Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via.

MART. DE SPECT. 2.

Statua
Clœliæ.

It was removed a second time, by Hadrian, (Spart. 18.) and we hear of it again in the reign of Commodus, who changed the face into a representation of his own. (Lamprid. 17.) We hear also of a statue of Clœlia in bronze. (Liv. II. 13.) In Dionysius' time this statue seems to have been destroyed by fire; (V. 35.) but it must have been restored again, as Seneca speaks of it as existing in his day, (Consol. ad Marc. 16.) as does also Servius. (ad Æn. VIII. 651.) Several figures of elephants in bronze served likewise to decorate the Via Sacra. (Cassiod. X. Epist. 30.)

Clivus Viæ
Sacræ.

The Clivus Viæ Sacræ is properly that part of the street which lay between the Forum and the temple

of Peace, there being a gentle rise perceptible in that direction. (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.)

Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet

Sacra catenatus via.

HOR. EPOD. 7.

Concines majore poeta plectro

Cæsarem, quandoque trahet feroces

Per Sacrum Clivum, merita decorus

Fronde, Sicambros.

ID. IV. OD. 233.

Inde Sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo.

MART. I. EP. 71.

In the time of Horace, it appears that the Via Sacra was a favourite place of resort for the idlers of the day.

Videsne, Sacram metiente te viam

Cum bis ter ulnarum toga,

Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium

Liberrima indignatio?

HOR. EPOD. 4.

Ibam forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,

Nescio quid meditans nugarum, et totus in illis.

ID. SAT. I. 9. 1.

The Meta Sudans, of which some slight remains ^{Meta Sudans.} are still to be seen between the Colosseum and the arch of Constantine, was a fountain resembling in shape the meta of a circus; it was conical, and had a waterspout issuing from the vertex. If this monument is of the reign of Domitian, as Cassiodorus seems to assert, that of which Seneca speaks (Epist. 57.) must have been situated elsewhere. (Cassiod. Chron.)

The arch of Titus, which still exists at the foot of ^{Arcus Titi.} the Palatine, is not mentioned by any classical author, though its name occurs in the catalogues of Rufus

and Victor. A street running parallel with the Via Sacra led from the Meta Sudans through this arch to the Forum. It was called Vicus Sandaliarius, that being a surname of Apollo. (Suet. 57.) This street appears, from a passage in Aulus Gellius, to have been the Pater Noster Row of ancient Rome. (XVIII. 4.) At its extremity, and contiguous to the Forum, was the Area Vulcani, or the Vulcanale, as it was more commonly called. (Liv. IX. 46. Aul. Gell. IV. 5. Fest. v. Statua.) Pliny speaks of a lotus tree and a cypress, coeval with the foundation of the city, which grew in this square. (XVII. 44.) Between the Vicus Sandaliarius and the Via Sacra, was the Forum Cupedinis, of which Varro speaks; (de Ling. Lat. IV. 32.) and Festus, who says under the head of the word Cupes, or Cupedia, that it was derived from Cupiditas, and signified "delicate meats." The Forum Cupedinis must therefore have been the great resort of the Cupedinarii, or restaurateurs of ancient Rome.

..... ad Macellum ubi advenimus,
Concurrunt læti mihi obviam Cupedinarii omnes.

TER. EUN. ACT. II. SC. 2.

Thermæ
Domitii.
Sacripor-
tus.

In this vicinity Nardini places the baths of Domitius, (Sen. IV. Contr. 4.) and the Sacriportus mentioned by Varro. (de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.)

Carinæ.

What remains of the fourth region was principally taken up by that aggregate of buildings to which the name of Carinæ, already adverted to^s, was given; and which, according to Nardini, corresponds with that portion of the modern city which is known

^s See p. 375.

by the appellation of *Pantani*. From the epithet of *lautæ*, which Virgil applies to the *Carinæ*, we may infer that the houses which stood in this quarter of ancient Rome were distinguished by an air of superior elegance and grandeur.

Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
 Pauperis Evandri, passimque armenta videbant
 Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

ÆN. VIII. 359.

Where see Servius's Commentary.

From the same passage of Virgil it appears that the *Carinæ* were contiguous to the Forum; and from Livy, (XXVI. 10.) that they were at the foot of the Esquiline hill.

The following buildings are mentioned by ancient writers as belonging to the *Carinæ*. The house of Spurius Cassius, who was accused and condemned on a charge of having formed designs against the liberty of his country. After his death, his residence was pulled down by order of the people. Near it was a temple of Tellus. (Dion. Hal. VIII. 79. Liv. II. 41.) The house of Pompey, which was subsequently in the possession of Marc Antony, (Dio. Cass. XLVIII.) of Tiberius, (Suet. Tib. 15.) and finally of the elder Gordian. (Capitol. Gord. 2.) That of Philip the lawyer mentioned by Horace. (I. Epist. 7. 46.)

Domus
 Sp. Cassii

Templum
 Telluris.

Domus
 Pompeii.

Domus
 Philippi.

Strenuus et fortis, caussisque Philippus agendis
 Clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam
 Dum redit, atque Foro nimium distare Carinas
 Jam grandis natu queritur—

And those of M. Manilius (Cic. Parad. 3.) and Balbinus (Capitol. Balb.) The temple of Concord, erected

Templum
 Concordiæ.

by Livia, was at some distance apparently from the portico which bore her name, as that stood in the third region. Ovid speaks of this temple as a magnificent structure.

Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat æde
Livia, quam caro præstitit illa viro.

FAST. VI. 637.

At the foot of the Quirinal, and below the *Palazzo Conti*, are some noble architectural remains, which antiquaries agree in ascribing to the Forum of Nerva, otherwise called Transitorium and Perivium. It is supposed to have been commenced by Domitian, but finished by Nerva; increased afterwards by Trajan, and embellished by Alex. Severus. (Sext. Aur. Vict. vit. Nerv. Plin. Paneg. 2. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 27.) It was here that the latter emperor caused Vetronius Turinus, who had made a traffic of his court-interest, to be suffocated with smoke; while this sentence was proclaimed aloud by a public crier, "Fumo punitur qui vendidit fumum."

Forum
Nervæ
quod et
Transito-
rium.

Vicus Cy-
prius.
Tigillum
Sororium.

The street which led from the Quirinal to the Carinæ was called Vicus Cyprius^t. (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 32.) In one part of it stood the Tigillum Sororium, which commemorated the murder of Horatia by her brother. (Liv. I. 26.) The continuation of the Vicus Cyprius along the foot of the Quirinal, connected that street with the Vicus Scleratus,

Vicus Sce-
leratus.

^t Varro derives this word from *ciprum*, which in the Sabine dialect was equivalent to *bonum*: and it may be observed, that as Juno, who was wor-

shipped under the name of Cypra, had an altar in this vicinity, the street might have derived its name from that circumstance. (Dion. Hal. III. 22.)

where Tullia is said to have driven her chariot over her father's mangled corpse. (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 32. Liv. I. 48.)

REGIO QUINTA.

ESQUILINA.

Though the fifth region took its name from the Esquiline, it occupied in fact but a small part of that hill; it however comprised nearly the whole of the Viminal, and extended beyond the rampart of Servius to the Castrum Prætorium and the wall of Aurelian.

We are informed by Varro that the Esquiline derived its name from the Latin word *excultus*; in proof of which he mentions that Servius had planted on its summit several sacred groves, such as the *Lucus Querquetulanus*, *Fagutalis*, and *Esquilinus*. It was the most extensive of all the seven hills, and was divided into two principal heights, which were called *Cispus* and *Oppius*. (de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.)

In this region antiquaries place the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*, supposed to be a circus in which soldiers were exercised in the fights with wild beasts; (Suet. Tib. 72.) the *Vicus Africi*, so named from its being the residence of some Carthaginian hostages in the Punic wars; and the *Spes vetus*, a place probably so called from a temple of Hope, near which were the gardens of *Elagabalus*; (Lamprid. 13.) and those of *Pallas*, the freedman of *Claudius*. (Front. Aquæd. I.) Here also were some ancient potteries noticed by Varro (IV. 8.) and Festus, (v. *Salinum*.) and the grove of *Caius* and *Lucius*, which was converted into a *Naumachia* by Augustus. (Dio.

Lucus Querquetulanus, Fagutalis, Esquilinus.

Mons Cispus, Oppius.

Amphitheatrum Castrense.

Vicus Africi.

Spes vetus.

Horti Elagabali.

Pallantiani.

Nemus Caii et Lucii.

Naumachia vetus.

Trophæa
Marii.

Cass. LXIX. Xiphil. p. 757. Suet. Tit. 7.) The trophies of Marius, commemorative of his victory over the Cimbri and Teutones, of which frequent mention is made by ancient authorities, were long supposed to be the monuments which formerly stood on the *Castello dell' Acqua Giulia*, but which have since been removed to the *Campidoglio*. The style of these monuments is thought, however, by discriminating judges, to belong to the time of Trajan.

Horti Mæ-
cenas.

Suetonius says, that the trophies of Marius had been pulled down by Sylla, but that they were restored by Julius Cæsar. (Cæs. 2. Val. Max. VI. 9. 14. Vitruv. III. 1.) Near these monuments erected to Marius, were the gardens of Mæcenas, which reached as far as the baths of Titus. It is thought that Horace alludes to some elevated building in this situation, when he addresses his patron in these lines :

Fastidiosam desere copiam, et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis :
Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.

OD. III. 29.

Domus
P. Virgilii.

Donatus, in his life of Virgil, tells us, that great poet had a house in this vicinity.

Horti La-
miæ.

Close to the gardens of Mæcenas were those of Lamia, in which Caligula was buried. (Suet. Calig. 59.)

Campus
Esquilinus.

The Campus Esquilinus was, in the early days of Rome, a plot of ground without the walls of the city, in which a great number of pits were dug to receive the dead bodies of the lower orders ; these holes

were called *puticuli*, from their resemblance to wells, *Puticuli*. or more probably from the stench which issued from them in consequence of this practice. (Varr. IV. 5. Fest. v. Puticul.) The *Esquilæ* seem to have been considered as unwholesome, till this mode of burial was discontinued.

Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
 Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca :
 Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulchrum,
 Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.
 Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
 Hic dabat : heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
 Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
 Aggere in aprico spatium ; quo modo tristes
 Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.

HOR. SAT. I. 8. 8.

Post, insepulta membra different lupi,

Et Esquilinæ alites.

ID. EP. 5. 100.

In the Campus Esquilinus there appears to have been a place allotted for executions, which was called *Sestertium*. (Plut. vit. Galb. Cf. Suet. Claud. 25. *Sestertium*. Tacit. Ann. II. 32.)

The palace of Servius is supposed to have been placed on the Cispian summit of the Esquiline, communicating with the Forum by the *Clivus Virbius*, and with the Viminal by the *Vicus Patricius*. (Fest. v. *Orbius Clivus*. Liv. I. 48.) In the latter street there was a temple of *Diana* ; (Plut. Probl. 3.) and not far from thence a temple and grove sacred to *Juno Mephitis* ; (Fest. v. *Septimont*.) also the grove and temple of *Juno Lucina*. (Varr. IV. 8.)

Regia Servii.

Clivus Virbius.

Vicus Patricius.

Templum Dianæ.

Ædes Mephitis.

Læus et Ædes Junonis Lucinæ.

Monte sub Esquilio multis inciduus annis

Junonis magnæ nomine lûcus erat.

OVID. FAST. II. 435.

The last summit of the Esquiline towards the Viminal was called Septimius: (Varr. IV. 8.) here probably was situated the house of Maximus, of whom Martial says, (VII. Ep. 73.)

Esquiliis domus est, domus est tibi colle Dianæ,
Et tua Patricius culmina Vicus habet.
Hinc viduæ Cybeles, illinc sacraria Vestæ;
Inde Novum, Veterem prospicis inde Jovem.

Domus
Propertii.

And that of Propertius, (III. Eleg. 23.)

Et dominum Esquiliis scribe habitare tuum.

Ara Malæ
Fortunæ.
Lucus Pœ-
tilinus.
Mons Vi-
minalis.

Also the altar of Mala Fortuna, (Cic. de Leg. II. 11. Plin. II. 7.) and the Lucus Pœtilinus. (Varr. IV. 8.)

The Viminal hill, which appears to have been included in this region, is said to have derived its name from an ozier plantation which formerly grew on its summit; hence also the title of *Vimineus* given to Jove, to whom an altar was dedicated on this mount. (Fest. v. Viminal.)

Ara Jovis
Viminei.

At the northern extremity of this hill are some considerable remains of a walled enclosure, which bears all the appearance of a Roman camp, and therefore is generally thought to correspond with the *Castra Prætoria*, which the scholiast of Juvenal (Sat. X. 95.) says were constructed by Sejanus near the rampart of Servius. The identity of this site is also implied from a passage in Suetonius. (Ner. 48.)

Castra
Prætoria.

Sacellum
Neniæ.

Beyond the *Porta Viminalis* was a chapel dedicated to *Nenia*. (Fest. v. *Nenia*.) And outside the *Collina*, the temple of *Venus Erycina*. (Liv. XXX. 38. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 92.)

Ædes Ve-
neris Ery-
cinæ.

Templa frequentari Collinæ proxima portæ
Nunc decet; a Siculo nomina colle tenent.

OVID. FAST. IV. 871.

Near the same gate was a temple of Hercules, ^{Templum Herculis.} mentioned by Livy as the term of Hannibal's approach to Rome: (XXVI. 10.) also a temple sacred to Honour. (Cic. de Leg. II. 23.) On the Viminal ^{Ædes Honoris.} was the house of C. Aquilius, a Roman knight, ^{Domus Aquilii.} which, according to Pliny, surpassed in magnificence even that of Crassus. (XVII. 1.)

REGIO SEXTA.

ALTA SEMITA.

The sixth region was contiguous to the fifth; it occupied the whole of the Quirinal, a great portion of the Pineian, and part of the ground which lies at the base of these two hills.

At the foot of the Quirinal, near the Forum and pillar of Trajan, are some ruins supposed to belong to the baths of Paulus, mentioned by Juvenal. (Sat. ^{Pauli Balnea.} VII. 232.)

..... ut forte rogatus,
Dum petit aut thermas, aut Pauli balnea^u, dicat
Nutricem Anchisæ.

That part of the Quirinal which is immediately above these ruins, and an old edifice commonly called *Torre delle Milizie*, probably represents the Collis ^{Collis Latiaris.} Latiaris, which is thought to have derived its name from a temple dedicated to Jupiter Latiaris. (Varr. IV. 8.) Another detached summit of the Quirinal, known by the name of Collis Mutialis, is supposed to ^{Collis Mutialis.} answer to the present site of the *Aldobrandini* gar-

^u Most editions, however, read, "Phœbi balnea."

Ædes Divi
Fidii.

dens. Here was a temple of *Dius Fidius*; (Varr. loc. cit.) also a chapel where the same deity was worshipped under the name of *Sancus*. (Liv. VIII. 20.)

Sacellum
Sanci.

Templum
Quirini.

The more celebrated temple of *Quirinus* is known to have communicated the name of the deified *Romulus* to the hill on which it was raised, and where he was said to have appeared in more than mortal splendour to *Julius Proculus*.

Mons Qui-
rinalis.

Templa Deo fiunt, collis quoque dictus ab illo;
Et referunt certi sacra paterna dies.

OVID. FAST. II. 511.

(Plut. vit. Romul. Liv. I. 16. Sext. Aurel. Vict. vit. Romul.) It was first built by *Numa*, (Dion. Hal. II. 63.) but afterwards reconstructed with greater magnificence by *Papirius Cursor*, the dictator. (Liv. X. 46.) Some vestiges of this edifice are said to exist in the gardens of the *Jesuits*, close to the church of *S. Andrea, a Monte Cavallo*. Near it was a portico, of which *Martial* speaks. (XI. Ep. 1.)

Porticus
Quirini.

Vicini pete porticum Quirini,
Turbam non habet otiosiore
Pompeius —

And *Juvenal*. (Sat. II. 132.)

..... Officium cras
Primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini.

From *Ovid* we learn that in the same vicinity there stood a temple dedicated to *Fortune*, surnamed *Publica*.

Ædes For-
tunæ Pub-
licæ.

Qui dicet, quondam sacrata est colle Quirini
Hac Fortuna die publica; verus erit.

FAST. IV. 375.

Another summit of the Quirinal was called *Salutaris*, from a temple dedicated to Health, which was built and consecrated by Junius Bubulcus the dictator. (Liv. X. 1. Fest. v. Salutar.) It was on the Quirinal likewise that the female senate of Elagabalus held its meetings. (Lamprid. 4.) Here too was the house of Lampadius, prefect of Rome. (Amm. Marc. XXVII. 5.)

Collis Salutaris.

Ædes Salutaris.

Senaculum Mulierum.

We learn from Varro, that the Quirinal was at one time styled the ancient Capitol, from its possessing a temple supposed to have been erected by Numa, with three chapels consecrated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; which served as a model for the temple built afterwards by Tarquin. (Varr. V. 8. Val. Max. IV. 4. 11.) Martial also probably alludes to this ancient shrine, when he says,

Sed Tiburtinæ sum proximus accola pilæ,
Qua videt antiquum rustica Flora Jovem.

V. EP. 22.

And from this passage it is inferred that this edifice probably occupied the site of the present *Barberini* gardens. Here also was the *Sacrarium* of the *Salii*, named *Collini*, appointed by Tullus Hostilius. (Dion. Hal. II. 69.)

Sacrarium Saliorum Collinorum.

The extensive ruins which are known by the name of Diocletian's baths were not constructed by that emperor only, but by Maximianus, Constantius, and Maximinus, as we learn from an inscription *.

Thermæ Diocletianæ.

At the foot of the Quirinal, and between that hill and *Monte Pincio*, was the circus of Flora, in which it is supposed that the games called *Floralia* were celebrated.

Circus Floræ.

* Gruter. Thes. p. 79. N°. 1.

Mater, ades, florum, ludis celebranda jocosis ;
 Distuleram partes mense priore tuas.
 Incipis Aprili : transis in tempora Maii.
 Alter te, fugiens ; cum venit, alter habet.
 Cum tua sint, cedantque tibi confinia mensum,
 Convenit in laudes ille vel iste tuas.
 Circus in hunc exit, clamataque palma theatris :
 Hoc quoque cum Circi munere carmen eat.

OVID. FAST. V. 183.

Domus et
 Horti Sal-
 lustii.

Near this circus were the house and gardens of Sallust, which he constructed and laid out with the wealth he had amassed during his command in Africa. After his death these gardens still retained his name, and were the favourite resort of several emperors. (Tacit. Ann. XIII. 47. Vopisc. Aurelian. 49.) Contiguous to these were a Circus and Forum, which also bore the name of Sallust. We learn from Procopius, (Bell. Vand. I. 2.) that the house of this historian was purposely destroyed by fire at the taking of Rome by Alaric.

Collis Hor-
 tulorum.

The Pincian hill is supposed to have been formerly called Collis Hortulorum, from a number of small gardens situated on its declivity. The name of Pincian is as ancient however as the time of Cassiodorus, who mentions it as belonging to a palace erected probably on its summit. (III. Ep. 10.)

Campus
 Sceleratus.

Returning to the Quirinal, there yet remains to be pointed out the Campus Sceleratus, the spot where the vestals who had violated their chastity were buried alive. It appears from numerous passages that this piece of ground was situated within the walls and close to the Porta Collina. From the description of Plutarch, in the life of Numa, a sepulchral chamber appears to have been formed under the rampart of Servius for this inhuman purpose.

(Cf. Dion. Hal. II. 67. Fest. v. Scelerat. Liv. VIII. 15.)

Pomponius Atticus, the great friend of Cicero, is known to have had a house on the Quirinal. (Corn. Nep. vit. Attic. 13.) Domus Attici.

The temple of Fortuna Primigenia, built by Q. Marcius, in fulfilment of a vow made during the second Punic war, stood likewise on this mount, as we are informed by Livy. (XXXIV. 53.) Templum Fortunæ Primigeniæ.

On the Via Salaria, Suetonius mentions a monument erected in honour of a companion of Hercules. (Vespas. 12.) And between that road and the Tiber was a grove in which the Roman soldiers who fled from the battle on the Allia concealed themselves from their victorious enemies; in commemoration of which circumstance a festival named Lucaria was instituted. (Fest. v. Lucaria.) Monumentum Comitum Herculis.
Nemus Festorum Lucariorum.

From Suetonius we learn that Domitian was born in this region, in a street distinguished by the title of ad Malum Punicum. He afterwards converted this house into a temple sacred to the Flavian family. (Domit. 12.) Malum Punicum.
Templum gentis Flaviæ.

REGIO SEPTIMA.

VIA LATA.

The seventh region was contiguous to the sixth, and extended from the base of the Pincian hill round that of the Quirinal, to the angle which that hill forms with the Capitol.

Close to the circus of Flora, and therefore bordering on the sixth region, we may notice the house of the poet Martial, the situation of which he thus points out. Domus Martialis.

Sed Tiburtinæ sum proximus accola Pilæ,
Qua videt antiquum rustica Flora Jovem.

MART. V. EP. 22.

Pila Ti-
burtina.

The Pila Tiburtina was probably a column made of the stone of Tibur, now termed *Travertino*. The street in which Martial lived was called ad Pyrum.

Non est, quod puerum, Luperce, vexes;
Longum est, si velit ad Pyrum venire,
Et scalis habito tribus, sed altis.

ID. I. EP. 118.

In another place he tells us, that near his residence there was a fountain which derived its supply from the Aqua Martia, and he requests of the emperor Domitian that he may be allowed the use of it.

Sicca Domus queritur nullo se rore foveri,
Cum mihi vicino Martia fonte sonet.
Quam dederis nostris, Auguste, penatibus undam,
Castalis hæc nobis, aut Jovis imber erit.

ID. IX. EP. 19.

Templum
Novum
Quirini.

The temple of Quirinus, which he elsewhere mentions as being in the same vicinity,

Dura suburbani dum jugera pascimus agri,
Vicinosque tibi, sancte Quirine, lares.

ID. X. EP. 58.

was probably that which Augustus built, and of which it is remarked, that the number of its columns was equal to the number of years that he lived. (Dio. Cass. LIV.) It was called *Templum Novum Quirini*, to distinguish it from the more ancient edifice consecrated to the same deity on the Quirinal.

Adjoining the abode of Martial was that of an individual named Novius, Domus Novii.

Vicinus meus est, manuque tangi
De nostris Novius potest fenestris.

MART. I. EP. 87.

and hard by were the baths of one Stephanus, which the poet and his friends frequented. Balnea Stephani.

Cœnabis belle, Juli Cerealis, apud me :
Conditio est melior si tibi nulla, veni.
Octavam poteris servare ; lavabimur una :
Scis quam sint Stephani balnea juncta mihi.

ID. XI. EP. 53.

The temple of the Sun, which appears in the list of Rufus as belonging to this region, is perhaps that which Aurelian is said to have erected, and where the spoils of the Persian kings were deposited. Templum Solis. (Vopisc. 25. and 28.)

The Via Lata, which gave its name to the division which I am now describing, was a prolongation of the Via Flaminia, and was the street through which victorious generals, who entered Rome on that side, marched their troops in triumph to the Capitol. It is supposed to have commenced at the *Piazza Sciarra*. We hear of several triumphal arches with which this approach was adorned. Those of M. Aurelius, Verus, and Gordian are noticed by Rufus ; and Nardini is disposed to add one of Domitian, besides the temple *Fortuna Redux*, mentioned by Martial. Arcus M. Aurelii, Veri, Gordiani. Domitiani. Templum Fortunæ Reducis.

Hic ubi Fortunæ Reducis fulgentia late
Templa nitent, felix area nuper erat.
Hic stetit Arctoi formosus pulvere belli
Purpureum fundens Cæsar ab ore jubar.

Hic lauro redimita comas, et candida vultu
 Roma salutavit vocē, manumque ducem.
 Grande loci meritum testantur et altera dona;
 Stat sacer edomitibus gentibus Arcus ovans.

MART. VIII. EP. 65.

The Septa Agrippiana, Diribitorium, and portico of Pola, which are enumerated among the buildings of this region by Rufus and Victor, formed part, as it is supposed, of the great works planned and constructed by Agrippa, in the Campus Martius. A part of the ground which the above mentioned buildings occupied seems to have been called Campus Agrippæ. (Dio. Cass. LV.) The portico of Pola derived its name from the sister of Agrippa. The Septa was a sort of enclosure, or colonnade, in which various kinds of merchandise were exposed for sale, on the plan probably of our bazars.

Campus
 Agrippæ.
 Porticus
 Polæ.

Septa A-
 grippiana.

In septis Mamurra diu multumque vagatus,
 Hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes.

ID. IX. EP. 60.

Pliny speaks of the Septa of Agrippa as an astonishing work. (XVI. 40. Cf. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 25.)

Diribito-
 rium.

The Diribitorium was a vast hall without a roof, in which largesses were distributed to the soldiers, and where theatrical shows were occasionally exhibited to the people. Agrippa having died before it was completed, it was finished by Augustus. (Dio. Cass. loc. cit. Plin. loc. cit.) The Vicus Æmilianus, which Rufus places in this region, derived its name probably from a monument erected to some member of the Æmilian family. We hear of the Æmiliana as a spot in the outskirts of the city, on which stood certain farms, where the celebrated fire, under Nero,

Æmiliana.

first broke out. (Tacit. Ann. XV. 40. Cf. Varr. de R. Rust. III. 2.) Another fire had already occurred in the same part of the city during the reign of Claudius. (Suet. Claud. 18.) We are told by Pliny that Paulus Æmilius placed in the temple of Fortune at Rome a brasen statue of Minerva, the work of Phidias: (XXXIV. 8.) and as the catalogues of Rufus and Victor point out a temple of Fortune in this region, it is not improbable that the building and statue referred to by Pliny may have been the monuments from which the Vicus Æmilianus took its name. The Vicus Sigillarius, which also belongs to this division, seems to have been the street appropriated to the shops of silversmiths and jewellers. (Suet. Claud. 18.) Books were also sold there. (Aul. Gell. V. 4.) It is a matter of doubt among antiquaries, whether the tomb of Publicius Bibulus, which still exists at the foot of the Capitol, was comprised within the walls or not^y. The Claudian family had a burial ground in the same vicinity, as we learn from Suetonius. (Tib. 2.)

Vicus Sigillarius.

Sepulcrum C. Publicii Bibuli.

Sepulcrum Claudio-rum.

REGIO OCTAVA.

FORUM ROMANUM.

The eighth region, which was in the centre of Rome, comprised the Forum and Capitol, and consequently the most celebrated and conspicuous buildings of that city. It is collected from Livy (I. 12.) and Dionysius, (II. 66.) that the Forum was situated between the Capitoline and Palatine hills; and from Vitruvius we learn that its shape was that of a rect-

^y Burton's Ant. of Rome, p. 244.

angle, the length of which exceeded the breadth by one third. From these data, which agree with other incidental circumstances, it is generally thought that the four angles of the Roman Forum were formed by the arch of Severus at the foot of the Capitol; the arch of Fabian, already mentioned as the termination of the Via Sacra; the church of *St. Theodore*, at the foot of the Palatine; and that of the *Consolazione*, below the Capitol. The ground which it occupied is now commonly known by the name of *Campo Vaccino*. The Forum was first adorned with porticoes and shops by Tarquinius Priscus. (Liv. I. 35. Dion. Hal. III. 67.) We hear of its being surrounded also with temples, basilicks, and innumerable statues; among which were those of the twelve deities, named *Consentes Urbani*, whereof six were males and six females. (Varr. de R. Rust. I. 1.)

Rostra.

The first object to be considered in a detailed examination of the Forum is the position of the Rostra. It is well known that this name was given to the elevated seat from whence the Roman orators, and men in office, addressed the assembled people; from the circumstance of its having been adorned with the beaks of some galleys taken from the city of Antium. (Liv. VIII. 12.) When Livy applies the word *templum* to this structure, we are to understand him as alluding rather to the reverence with which it was regarded by the Romans, as being a consecrated place, than to its size or shape. It appears that the Rostra were first placed opposite the middle of the south side of the Forum, near the Comitium, and that part where the senate usually met. (Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. 32. Cf. Plut. C. Gracc. Ascon. in Orat. pro Mil. 5.) Julius Cæsar removed the Rostra

from the position they first occupied, and placed them close under the Palatine hill, near the south-western angle of the Forum. From this circumstance, the new Rostra were commonly known by the name of Julian. (Dio. Cass. XLIII. et LVI. Suet. Aug. 100.)

Ecce Palatino crevit reverentia monti,

* * * *

Attollens apicem subjectis Regia Rostris

Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum

Cingitur excubiis —

CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 35.

Amongst the illustrious characters who enjoyed the distinction of having their statues placed near the Rostra, we may notice Sylla, Pompey, and Augustus. (Dio. Cass. XLIII.) Likewise the ambassadors who might perish in the discharge of their public functions: as in the instance of those who were put to death by order of Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, (Cic. Phil. IX. 2.) and of Teuta, queen of the Illyrians. (Plin. XXXIV. 6.)

Above the Rostra was the Curia, or senate-house, sometimes called Hostilia, from having been originally built by Tullus Hostilius. (Varr. loc. cit.) The ascent to it from the Forum was by a flight of steps. (Liv. I. 48. Dion. Hal. IV. 38.) It was repaired, and probably embellished by Sylla; soon after which it was set on fire, on the occasion of the corpse of P. Clodius being burnt in it by the populace, when it was totally destroyed. (Cic. pro. Mil. 33. et Ascon. Argum. Orat. Plin. XXXIV. 5.) Faustus, son of Sylla, was afterwards commissioned to rebuild it, but this edifice was again pulled down to make way for a temple of Felicity, which was erected by Lepi-

Curia
Julia.

dus, when master of the horse. (Dio. Cass. XLIV.) Julius Cæsar subsequently undertook to execute this work; but his death intervening, it was accomplished by Augustus, who gave to the new building the name of Curia Julia, in honour of his adoptive father. (Dion. Cass. loc. cit. et XLVII.) It appears, however, to have been still occasionally called by the original name of Curia Hostilia. In the centre of the building was the statue of Victory, placed there by Augustus, who had removed it from Tarentum. (Dio. Cass. LI.)

. . . . agnoscunt proceres, habituque Gabino
Principis, et ducibus circumstipata togatis
Jure paludatæ jam Curia militat aulæ.
Affuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis,
Romanæ tutela togæ, quæ divite pompa
Patritii reverenda foveat sacraria cætus.

CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 594.

Comitium.

Somewhat behind the Curia, and to the left of it, if we are supposed to view the Forum from the Capitol, was the Comitium, a space of ground, as it appears elevated above the rest of the Forum, which was appropriated to the meetings of the Curiae in the early days of Rome, and subsequently to the trials of civil causes. (Liv. I. 36. Varr. IV. 32. Macrob. Sat. III. 16.) Here also delinquents were publicly scourged. (Plin. Epist. IV. 11. Suet. Domit. 8.) This area was at first uncovered, but a roof was added nine years after the entrance of Hannibal into Italy, that is, 542. A. U. C. (Liv. XXVII. 36.) The celebrated Capitoline marbles, so called from the circumstance of their being preserved in the modern *Campidoglio*, were discovered in the sixteenth century, and lately other fragments of the same re-

cords have been found, on the supposed site of the Comitium: hence it is conceived that these monuments were commonly affixed to some part of that building. It seems to be the opinion of the best informed Roman antiquaries of the present day, that the three fine columns which were long thought to be the remains of the temple of Jupiter Stator, in reality formed part of the Comitium ².

The following buildings appear to have been connected with this edifice. The Græcostasis, a hall in ^{Græcostasis.} which the envoys of foreign nations awaited the answer of the senate on the subject of their mission. (Varr. IV. 32.) It was burnt, together with the Curia Hostilia, by the partisans of Clodius after his death, (Plin. XXXIII. 1.) but was afterwards rebuilt by Antoninus Pius. (Capitolin. 8.) A Senaculum, or building in which the senate met on extraordinary occasions. ^{Senaculum.} The Basilica of Opimius, and ^{Basilica Opimia.} a small temple of Concord. (Varr. IV. 32.) This ^{Ædes Concordiæ.} temple was of bronze, and was built and consecrated by C. Flavius, a Curule Ædile. (Liv. IX. 46. Plin. XXXIII. 1.) The famous fig-tree called Ruminalis, ^{Ficus Ruminalis.} under which Romulus and Remus were said to have been suckled by the she-wolf, grew in the area of the Comitium. (Tacit. Ann. XIII. 58. Fest. v. Ruminal.) An image of the animal and her nurslings was cast in bronze, and placed under this tree. (Liv. X. 23. Plin. XV. 18.)

To the right of the Curia stood the Basilica Porcia, ^{Basilica Porcia.} built by Porcius Cato when consul, A. U. C. 564. and is thought to have been the first edifice of that

² Nibby, Foro Romano, c. i. p. 65.

kind which was erected in Rome. (Liv. XXXIX. 44.) Plutarch informs us, that it was the hall in which the tribunes of the people sat to administer justice. (Cat. Utic.)

The little church of *St. Theodore*, which bears evident marks of having been an ancient structure, is generally supposed to have replaced a temple of Romulus. The fact of the brassen figure of the wolf, now preserved in the *Campidoglio*, having been found close to this church, is the chief ground on which this opinion seems to rest.

Velia. That part of the Forum which lay at the foot of the Palatine is known to have been called Velia, and perhaps there was a street of this name leading up to the hill just mentioned, one summit of which might be thence called Veliensis. In the Velia stood the temple of the Penates, supposed to have been brought by Æneas from Troy. (Dion. Hal. I. 68. Varr. IV. 8.) In the court of this temple was a palm-tree planted by Augustus. (Suet. Aug. 92.) This edifice was burnt in the great fire which occurred under Nero. (Tacit. Ann. XV. 41.)

Tabernæ veteres. Latomiæ. Templum Castoris et Pollucis. The house of Tullus Hostilius is said to have been in this part of Rome: (Solin. 2.) also a row of ancient shops, or other buildings, which are alluded to under the concise expression of *sub veteribus*: (Varr. IV. 8. Fest. v. Ruminal.) or perhaps some old quarries may be signified, of which Livy speaks. (XXXIX. 44.) Under the Palatine was a celebrated temple of Castor and Pollux, said to have been erected to those deities for the aid which they were supposed to have afforded to the Romans in the battle fought near the lake Regillus. (Dion. Hal. VI. 13. Cic. de

Nat. Deor. III. 5. Plut. Syll. Strab. V. 232.) It was situated near a fountain commonly called the lake of Juturna.

Lacus Juturnæ.

At quæ venturas præcedit sexta Calendas,
Hac sunt Ledæis templa dicata Deis.
Fratribus illa Deis fratres de gente Deorum
Circa Juturnæ composuere lacus.

OVID. FAST. I. 705.

Caligula is said to have afterwards converted this temple into a vestibule for his house on the Palatine. (Dio. Cass. LIX. Suet. Cal. 22.)

Near this temple was a statue of L. Antonius, ^{Statua} styled the patron of the Roman people. (Cic. Phil. VI. 5.) Also a slave market, as appears from Seneca; (In Sap. non cad. injur. c. 13.) and a temple ^{Templum} consecrated to Julius Cæsar. ^{Julii Cæsaris.}

Fratribus assimilis, quos proxima templa tenentes
Divus ab excelsa Julius Æde videt;

OVID. PONT. EL. II. 2.

Hanc animam interea cæso de corpore raptam
Fac jubar, ut semper Capitolia nostra Forumque
Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius Æde.

ID. METAM. XV. 840.

According to Dion Cassius, it was erected by the Triumviri, on the spot where the remains of Julius Cæsar were consigned to the funeral pile. (XLVII. Cf. Appian. Civ. Bell. II. 148. Tacit. Hist. I. 42.)

According to Nardini, the Forum had four outlets on the side that we are now considering, which looks to the west and to the Tiber. These were the Vicus Jugarius, Vicus Tuscus, Via Nova, and a ^{Vicus Jugarius.} branch of the Via Sacra. The first of these streets is supposed to have derived its name from an altar of

Æquimæ-
lium.

Juno, surnamed Jurga, because she presided over marriages. (Fest. v. Jugarius.) It passed at the foot of the Capitol, and terminated opposite the Porta Carmentalis. (Liv. XXVII. 37. XXXV. 21.) In this street we must place the house of the seditious Spurius Mælius, which being razed to the ground, the space which it occupied was afterwards called Æquimælium. (Liv. IV. 16. Varr. IV. 32. Cic. pro. Dom. Sua. 38.) Livy mentions a great fire which broke out in this part of the city, and lasted two nights and a day. (XXIV. 47.)

Vicus
Tuscus.

The Vicus Tuscus was a little to the south of the street above mentioned, and consequently nearer the Palatine; it appears to have led from the Forum to that part of the city which was called the Velabrum, (Liv. XXVII. 37.) and from thence to the Circus Maximus. (Dion. Hal. V. 36.)

It is universally agreed, that the Vicus Tuscus was so called from its having been inhabited by a party of Tuscans at an early period of the Roman history; but authorities differ both as to the time and circumstances of this Tuscan settlement in Rome. Varro reports, that these were the followers of Coelius Vibenna, who aided Romulus against the Sabines; and that their first abode was on the Cœlian mount, from whence however they were removed through the jealousy of the Roman people, to a less elevated situation between the Capitol and Palatine. (IV. 8.) Tacitus says, these foreigners settled in Rome during the reign of the elder Tarquin. (Ann. IV. 65.) But Livy and Dionysius give a very different account of the fact. They state that the Tuscans, who were received at Rome, and occupied the street thence called Tuscus Vicus, were fugitives who had escaped from

the rout sustained by a considerable portion of Por-senna's army, commanded by his son Aruns, under the walls of Aricia. (Liv. II. 14. Dion. Hal. loc. cit.)

In the time of Horace, we find the Tuscus Vicus inhabited by mechanics, and the lower orders of the people.

Unguentarius, ac Tusci turba impia Vici.

HOR. SAT. II. 3. 228.

Nec nisi prima velit de Tusco serica Vico.

MART. XI. EP. 28.

A portion of the same street was called Vicus ^{Vicus Thur-}Thurarius, in which was a statue of the Etruscan god Vertumnus. (Varr. IV. 8.)

Tuscus ego et Tuscis orior, nec pœnitet inter

Proelia Volsinos deseruisse focos.

Hæc me turba juvat, nec templo lætor eburno;

Romanum satis est posse videre Forum.

PROPERT. IV. EL. 2.

The Basilica Sempronia, built by Ti. Sempronius, ^{Basilica Sempronia.} on the site of the house formerly belonging to P. Scipio Africanus, (Liv. XLIV. 16.) was in its vi- ^{Domus P. Scipionis Africani.} cinity.

The Via Nova was parallel to the Vicus Tuscus, ^{Via Nova.} and led also from the Forum to the Velabrum. This street existed in the time of the elder Tarquin, as appears from Livy; (I. 41.) unless we suppose the historian to be there speaking of it in anticipation. (Cf. Varr. IV. 7.)

Forte revertebar festis Vestalibus illa,

Qua Nova Romano nunc via juncta foro est.

~ OVID. FAST. VI. 395.

Templum
Aii Lo-
cutii.

Here was a chapel erected to the warning voice which announced the arrival of the Gauls, under the name of Aius Locutius. (Cic. de Div. I. 45. Liv. V. 50.)

The fourth street which issued from the western angle of the Forum seems to have been a continuation or branch of the Via Sacra. It wound round the base of the Palatine, and finally reached the summit of that hill by an ascent called Clivus Sacer. The chief authorities on which this hypothesis of Nardini rests, are, Plutarch, who, in the life of Cicero, speaks of the Via Sacra as beginning near the temple of Jupiter Stator, towards the Palatine. (Ovid. Trist. III. 1, 27.)

Paruit; et ducens, hæc sunt Fora Cæsaris, inquit;
Hæc est a Sacris, quæ via nomen habet.

and Martial, I. Ep. 70.

Quæris iter? dicam, vicinum Castora, canæ
Transibis Vestæ, virgineamque domum,
Inde sacro veneranda petes palatia Clivo.

At the foot of this ascent of the Palatine, or more properly of the Velian hill, was the house of Valerius Publicola, which he removed to that situation from the heights above, in order to allay the suspicions entertained by the people against his loyalty. At a later period this house was pulled down, to make way for a temple of Victory. (Liv. II. 7. Plut. Public.)

Ædes Vic-
toriae.

Templum
Vestæ.

Between the Via Nova, and that part of the Via Sacra above described, was the celebrated temple of Vesta, in which the eternal flame was preserved, and where the Palladium, saved from the ruins of Troy, was also deposited. This temple was erected by

Numa, together with the neighbouring building called the hall of Vesta, which was afterwards added, having been originally the dwelling of that king.

Atrium
Vestæ.

Regia Numæ.

Hic focus est Vestæ, qui Pallada servat et ignem.

Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numæ.

OVID. TRIST. III. EL. 1.

Hic locus exiguus qui sustinet atria Vestæ,

Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numæ.

ID. FAST. VI. 263.

Servat et Alba Lares, et quorum lucet in aris

Ignis adhuc Phrygius, nullique aspecta virorum

Pallas, in abstruso pignus memorabile templo.

LUCAN. IX. 992.

We learn from Ovid that it was round, and the reason why that form was adopted in its construction.

Forma tamen templi, quæ nunc manet, ante fuisse

Dicitur; et formæ caussa probanda subest.

Vesta eadem est, quæ Terra: subest vigil ignis utrique:

Significant sedem terra focusque suam.

FAST. VI. 265.

At a later period it was covered with bronze brought from Syracuse. (Plin. XXXIV. 3.)

Arte Syracosia suspensus in aere clauso

Stat globus, immensi parva figura poli.

Et quantum a summis, tantum secessit ab imis

Terra; quod ut fiat, forma rotunda facit.

OVID. FAST. VI. 277.

During the second Punic war this temple was on one occasion in great danger of being burnt. (Liv. XXVI. 27.) It did not escape, however, from the

great conflagration which occurred in the reign of Nero; (Tacit. Ann. XV. 41.) but it seems to have been restored immediately, as we hear of it in the next reign. (Id. Hist. I. 43.) It was again totally destroyed by fire under Commodus, (Herodian. I.) but was probably rebuilt by Elagabalus. (Lamprid. 6.)

Lacus
Vestæ.

Contiguous to the temple was the grove of Vesta, as we learn from Cicero. (de Div. 45.) On the same side of the Forum, and between the Vicus Tuscus and Jugarius, Nardini places the Basilica Julia, where the judges, called Centumviri, held their courts, which were four in number. (Plin. Ep. V. 21. and VI. 33. Quinctil. XII. 5. Suet. Cal. 37.)

Basilica
Julia.

Jam clamor, centumque viri, densumque coronæ
Vulgus: et infanti Julia tecta placent.

MART. VI. EP. 38.

Lacus Ser-
vilius.

Close to this edifice was the Lacus Servilius, a fountain adorned by M. Agrippa with the figure of a hydra. (Fest. v. Servilius. Senec. Cur. bon. vir. &c. c. 3.)

Arcus
Sept. Se-
veri.

If we now turn to the north side of the Forum, being that which is under the Capitol, we shall have to notice the following buildings. The arch of Severus, which is yet entire, and is known to have been erected in honour of the victories of that emperor and his two sons Geta and Caracalla, over the Parthians. The name of Geta has been erased, and supplied by other letters^a.

Templum
Concordiæ.

The temple of Concord, stood, as we are in-

^a For a description of this arch, see Burton's Antiq. of Rome, p. 208.

formed by Festus, between the Capitol and the Forum; (v. *Senaculum*.) while we learn from Plutarch, (vit. *Camill*.) that it fronted the *Comitium*, and was built by order of the senate in consequence of a vow made by *Camillus*. It was for a long time supposed that the architrave, supported by eight pillars of the Ionic order, which is yet standing at the foot of the Capitol, originally formed part of this temple; but it seems now agreed that this opinion is erroneous, and some late discoveries have brought to light, as it is thought, the area of the temple of *Concord*, near the ruins supposed to belong to the temple of *Jupiter Tonans*, and somewhat lower than the architrave and pillars above mentioned^b. Close to the temple of *Concord* was the *Senaculum*, or occasional senate-house, in which, by the advice of *Cicero*, decisive measures were determined upon against *Catiline* and his associates. (*Nicostr. ap. Fest. v. Senacul. Cic. Phil. II. 8. Sallust. Bell. Cat. 49.*)

Contiguous to this last building was the temple of *Saturn*, situated at the foot of the ascent called *Climus Capitolinus*. (*Dion. Hal. VI. 1. Varr. IV. 7. Liv. XLI. 27.*) The date of its construction is not known, but it was considered as one of the most ancient edifices of Rome. We learn from Plutarch, that *Valerius Publicola* selected this building for a public treasury, to which use it appears to have been appropriated ever after. (*Macrob. Saturn. I. 8. Solin. 2.*) *Lucan*, describing the forcible entrance of *Cæsar* into this sacred precinct, says,

*Templum
Saturni.*

^b Nibby, *Foro Romano*, c. i. p. 139.

Tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat, magnoque reclusas
 Testatur stridore fores; tunc conditus imo
 Eruitur templo, multis non tactus ab annis
 Romani census Populi, quem Punica bella,
 Quem dederat Perses, quem victi præda Philippi, &c.
 III. 154.

A little below the temple of Saturn may have stood the arch of Tiberius, erected to that emperor, as Tacitus informs us, upon the recovery, by Germanicus, of the standards which Varus had lost. (Ann. II. 41.)

Still lower, and in the vacant space of the Forum, was the celebrated Milliarium Aureum, from which it has been supposed by some antiquaries, and more particularly by D'Anville, that all the roads which led to the different parts of the empire were measured; but though this idea seems to derive some support from a passage in Plutarch's Life of Galba, it is evident from Pliny, that the Milliarium Aureum was that point in the Forum from which the distances to the several gates of the city were alone reckoned. (III. 5.) All the Roman ways had already been measured in the time of C. Gracchus, as Plutarch informs us^c. (vit. C. Gracch.) The Milliarium Aureum was erected by Augustus. (Dio. Cass. LIV. Cf. Tacit. Hist. I. 27, Suet. Oth. 6.)

In the open space of the Forum stood also the tribunal of Aurelius Cotta, the prætor, which appears to have been a court of justice surrounded by steps like an amphitheatre, in order that the people

^c The Milliarium Aureum was discovered in the excavations made in the Forum during the year 1823. See the New Monthly Mag. Aug. 1823.

might sit and hear the trials decided there. (Cic. pro. Flacc. 28. Id. pro. Cluent. 34.)

In the centre of the Forum was the celebrated Lacus Curtius, so called according to some accounts Lacus Curtius. from Metius Curtius, a Sabine officer, who, in the engagement between Tatius and Romulus, was nearly immersed in its muddy hollow. According to others, from Curtius, a Roman knight, who from a spirit of devotion to his country leaped into it on horseback, after the oracle had declared that this dangerous gulf could not otherwise be closed. (Dion. Hal. II. 42. Liv. VII. 6. Varr. IV. 32.) This bog having in process of time become dry, an altar was erected on the spot.

Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.

OVID. FAST. VI. 403.

A vine and an olive-tree are said afterwards to have grown here. (Plin. XV. 18.)

Near this part of the Forum stood an equestrian Equus Domitiani. statue of Domitian, in bronze, described by Statius.

Ipse loci custos, cujus sacrata vorago,
Famosusque lacus nomen memorabile servat.

SILV. I. 1. 66.

It was the custom also to erect pillars in the Forum commemorative of great victories and achievements: of this kind were the Pila Horatia; (Liv. Pila Horatii. I. 26. Dion. Hal. III. 21.) the column of C. Menius, who conquered the Latins and placed the rostra Columna Menia. in the Forum; (Plin. XXXIV. 5.) the rostral column of Duilius, who gained the first naval victory Columna Duilii. against the Carthaginians; (Id. loc. cit.) also a pillar Columna Jul. Cæsaris. raised in honour of Julius Cæsar. (Suet. Cæs. 75.)

Solare Horologium. A sundial brought from Catana in Sicily, by M. Valerius Messala, when that city was taken in the first Punic war. (Id. VII. ult.)

Puteal Libonis. The Puteal Libonis, mentioned by ancient authors as being in the Forum, was either an altar or a tribunal, and certainly the haunt of usurers and money-lenders. (Fest. v. Scribonianum.)

Qui Puteal, Janumque timent, celeresque Calendas
OVID. DE REM. AM. II. 165.

..... Forum Putealque Libonis
Mandabo siccis — HOR. EPIST. I. 18.

(Cf. Porph. in Horat. Epist. I. 19. 139. Acron. in Sat. II. 6. 35.)

Signum Marsyæ. There was a statue of Marsyas near the above-mentioned spot, which seems likewise to have been frequented by the same description of persons, who came probably to have their causes tried.

Deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus, mihi quod cras
Surgendum sit mane; obeundus Marsya, qui se
Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
HOR. SAT. I. 6, 119.

On this passage, see the commentary of Porphyrius, also Sen. de Ben. 32. Plin. XXI. 3. and Martial, Ep. II. 64.

Si Schola damnatur, fora litibus omnia fervent,
Ipse potest fieri Marsya caussidicus.

Templum Jani Quirini. The celebrated temple of Janus is known to have stood in the Forum, though it is not easy to determine the precise situation which it occupied. Procopius says it was a small square edifice of bronze, containing a statue of Janus, placed in front of the Curia, and a little above the chapel of the three

Fates. (Bell. Got. I. 25.) It is probable, however, that he does not mean the ancient Curia Hostilia; as the temple of the three Fates, or Parcæ, is known Tria Fata. to have stood near the church of *S. Adriano*, distinguished in old ecclesiastical writings by the title of "in tribus Fatis." Ovid seems to imply, that this edifice, consecrated to Janus, stood close to two Fora, which are supposed to be those of Cæsar and Augustus.

Quum tot sint Jani; cur stas sacratus in uno,
Hic ubi juncta foris templa duobus habes?

FAST. I. 263.

Great confusion has arisen on the subject of the building in question, from the number of temples and arches erected to Janus in different parts of the city. The one of which we are now speaking was built by Romulus and Tatius, and was distinguished by the title of Quirinus. According to Suetonius, (Aug. 22.) this was the temple which Augustus closed for the third time from its foundation after the battle of Actium, which statement is confirmed by Horace.

..... et vacuum duellis
Janum Quirini clausit, et ordinem
Rectum, et vaganti fræna licentiæ

Inject —

OD. IV. 15.

Livy speaks, however, of a temple of Janus built Templum
Jani Ge-
mini. by Numa in the Argiletum, to which he applies the fact above stated. (I. 19.) This seems to have been called Janus Geminus: (Varr. IV. 32. Plin. XXXIV. 7.) or perhaps the two buildings were designated by that name, as it appears that they were

Arcus Jani, superior, medius, inferior.

always closed together. Besides the temple of Janus, there were three arches dedicated to this god in different parts of the Forum, as we learn from Horace.

..... Hæc Janus summus ab imo

Perdocet —

EPIST. I. 1. 54.

The central one was the usual rendezvous of brokers and money-lenders. (Cic. de Off. II. 25.)

..... Postquam omnis res mea Janum

Ad medium fracta est —

HOR. SAT. II. 3. 18.

Tabernæ Novæ.

On the eastern side of the Forum were the Tabernæ Argentariæ, or bankers' shops, called also Novæ, to distinguish them from the Tabernæ veteres; which stood, as we have seen, in another part of the Forum. (Var. ap. Non. de Doct. Jud.) It was near this spot, as we learn from Livy, that Virginius shed the blood of his daughter to save her honour. (III. 18.) On the same side was the statue of Venus, surnamed Cloacina. (Liv. loc. cit. Plin. XV. 29.) We hear also of the Stationes Municipiorum, as being in this part of the Forum. These were probably rooms where the municipal deputations, from different parts of the empire, met previous to their appearing in court, whenever they had any cause to plead. (Suet. Ner. 37. Plin. XVI. c. ult.)

Signum Veneris Cloacinæ.

Stationes Municipiorum.

Basilica Pauli.

The Basilica, of L. Æmilius Paulus is supposed to have occupied the site of the church of *St. Adrian*, if that modern structure be not in a great measure formed from the materials of the ancient building^d.

^d See Nibby's note to Nardini, l. v. c. 8.

This Basilica was erected by L. Æmilius Paulus, who was consul A. U. C. 702. out of the sum of 1500 talents sent him by Cæsar from Gaul, in order to gain him over to his side. (Plut. Cæs.) Appian, who relates the same fact, says it was one of the most splendid edifices of Rome; (Civ. Bell. II. 26.) and Pliny speaks of its columns of Phrygian marble as most worthy of admiration. (XXXVI. 15. Cf. Cic. ad Att. IV. Ep. 16.) This building was repaired successively by different individuals of the Æmilian family under Augustus and Tiberius. (Dio. Cass. XLIX. Tacit. Ann. III. 72.) In this vicinity we hear also of a temple of Hadrian, erected to the memory of that emperor by Antoninus Pius. (Ca-^{Templum} pitol. 8.)^{Hadriani.}

Connected with the great Forum of Rome, the whole of which has now been described, were two on a smaller scale, built by Julius Cæsar and Augustus.

That which Cæsar erected, as Appian states, was^{Forum Jul.} not for the purposes of trade, but was used for plead-^{Cæsar.} ings, and meetings on public business. Its principal ornament was a magnificent temple of Venus Gene-^{Templum} trix, with a highly prized statue of that goddess, and^{Veneris} one of Cleopatra by her side. (App. Civ. Bell. II. 102.)^{Genetricis.} Several other statues, and some pictures belonging to this temple, are noticed by Pliny. (XXXIV. 5. and XXXV. 4.) In front of this edifice was an equestrian statue of Cæsar. The horse of bronze gilt was said to be the celebrated figure of Bucephalus, the work of Lysippus.

Cedat equus, Latiae qui contra templa Diones
Cæsarei stat sede Fori. Quem tradere es ausus
Pellæo Lysippe Duci, mox Cæsaris ora

Aurata cervice tulit.

STAT. SILV. I. 1, 84.

Forum Augusti.

Dio. Cassius asserts, (XLVIII.) that the great Forum was inferior in beauty to that of Cæsar, upon the area of which alone, according to Suetonius, 4000 sester tia, or upwards of 800,000*l.* of our money, had been expended. Contiguous to it, but nearer the Capitol, was the Forum of Augustus, which seems to have been entirely appropriated to law business. Suetonius informs us, that it was of no great extent, that emperor being unwilling to inconvenience persons whose houses stood in the way of his improvement. (August. 56.) It boasted, however, of a double portico, adorned with several statues and pictures, and a temple consecrated to Mars the avenger, which Augustus had vowed to that deity during the civil war. Its numerous ornaments, such as statues, arms, and trophies, are described by Ovid.

Ædes Martis Ultoris.

Fallor ? an arma sonant ? non fallimur ; arma sonabant :
 Mars venit ; et veniens bellica signa dedit.
 Ultor ad ipse suos cœlo descendit honores,
 Templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro.
 Et Deus est ingens, et opus ; debebat in Urbe
 Non aliter nati Mars habitare sui, &c.

FAST. V. 549.

It was ordered by Augustus, that the senate should always hold their consultations on the affairs of war in this temple. (Suet. August. 29.)

Forum Trajani.

The Forum of Trajan, which occupied the extreme portion of the eighth region, between the Capitol and Quirinal, was yet more extensive and magnificent than any of the structures which have been hitherto described. It is stated by Ammianus Marcellinus, that no part of Rome excited so much wonder and admiration in the emperor Constans and

the Persian prince Hormisdas, when viewing the city, as this superb Forum and its stupendous assemblage of buildings. (XVI. 10.) It was surrounded with a portico, the top of which was crowded with equestrian statues and military ornaments, principally in bronze. Its chief buildings consisted of a basilica, a triumphal arch, a temple, and a library. (Aul. Gell. XIII. 23. Pausan. V. 12. Lamprid. Commod. 2. Sidon. Apoll. IX. Ep. 19.) The famous column, which yet remains entire, points out more particularly the situation of the Forum now under consideration, to the splendour of which it doubtless added considerably. It was erected by order of the senate in commemoration of Trajan's victories over the Daci, which are described in the bas reliefs with which the shaft of the pillar is ornamented. The ashes of Trajan, it is said, were contained in an urn placed on the summit, an honour, as Eutropius (VIII.) observes, which never had been paid to any before that emperor^e. (Cf. Cassiod. Chron.)

Columna
Trajani.

We must now return to the western side of the Forum, in order to describe what remains of the eighth region, which was in that direction. The name of Velabrum was applied generally to all the ground which lies on the left bank of the Tiber, between the base of the Capitol and the Aventine; according to Varro, the word was derived from the Latin verb *vehere*, because this part was formerly swampy, and subject to floods, when it was necessary to employ boats to pass from one hill to the other. (de Ling. Lat. IV. 8.) We find the name subse-

Velabrum.

^e For a detailed description of this splendid monument, see Fabretti de Columna Trajani Syntagma Roma. 1683.

quently restricted to two streets, distinguished from each other by the titles of Velabrum majus and minus. Nardini conceives that they ran parallel to each other from the Circus Maximus to the foot of the Capitol, intersecting the Vicus Tuscus, the Vicus Jugarius, and the other streets which led from the Forum to the Tiber.

Sepulcrum
Accæ La-
rentiæ.

At the angle formed by the Via Nova and Velabrum, was the tomb and statue of Acca Larentia, the wife of Faustulus, and nurse of Romulus and Remus, to whom an annual sacrifice was offered on this spot. (Varr. V. 3. Macrob. Saturn. I. 10. Cic. ad Brut. Epist. 15.) Here were also the chapel and grove of the Lares, (Varr. IV. 7.) and likewise a temple of Fortune built by Lucullus. (Dio. Cass. XLIII.) Between the two Velabra, according to Rufus, was the fish-market. (Cf. Varr. IV. 32.) It was usual for the processions of the Circensian games to pass from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, through the Velabrum.

Sacellum
Larum.

Templum
Fortunæ.

Forum
Piscarium,

Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,
Nil præter salices, cassaque canna fuit.

OVID. FAST. VI. 405.

Ara Car-
mentæ.

(Cf. Liv. XXVII. 37.) Near the Porta Carmentalis, mentioned in the early part of this section as one of the gates of the Capitol, was the altar and chapel of Carmenta, the mother of Evander.

Vix ea dicta: dehinc progressus, monstrat et aram,
Et Carmentalem Romano nomine portam:
Quam memorant Nymphæ priscum Carmentis honorem,
Vatis fatidicæ; cecinit quæ prima futuros
Æneadas magnos, et nobile Pallanteum.

ÆN. VIII. 337.

Nearer the Circus Maximus, and also between the two Velabra, was the Forum Boarium, so called from ^{Forum Boarium.} a brasen bull which stood in the centre.

Pontibus et magno juncta est celeberrima Circo
Area, quæ posito de bove nomen habet.

OVID. FAST. VI. 478.

According to Pliny, this figure was brought to Rome from Ægina. (XXXIV. 2.) It probably served to denote the business carried on in this Forum, which was in fact the sale of oxen, according to Livy. (XXI. 62.)

In this Forum was a round chapel consecrated to Hercules Victor: (Liv. X. 23. Plin. XXXV. 4.) ^{Ædes Herculis Victoris.} also the temples of Matuta and Fortune, both ^{Ædes Matutæ.} erected by Servius Tullius. ^{Ædes Fortunæ.}

Hac ibi luce ferunt Matutæ sacra parenti,
Sceptraferas Servi templa dedisse manus.

OVID. FAST. VI. 479.

Lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est, auctorque, locusque,
Sed superinjectis quis latet æde togis?
Servius est: hoc constat enim —

ID. FAST. VI. 569.

(Cf. Liv. XXV. 7.) In this Forum also was a chapel dedicated to Patrician Chastity. (Liv. X. 23.) ^{Sacellum Pudicitiae Patritiæ.} We learn from the same author, (XXII. 57.) and from Pliny, (XXVIII. 2.) that this part of Rome was the scene of a barbarous sacrifice, which was not entirely abolished even in the latter's time. It consisted in burying alive two persons of each sex belonging to some hostile nation.

We must now turn to the Capitoline hill, which ^{Mons Capitolinus.} contained the citadel and fortress of Rome. Three ascents led to its summit from the Forum. 1st, By

Gradus
Rupis Tar-
peiae.

the 100 steps of the Tarpeian rock, which was probably on the steepest side, where it overhangs the Tiber. (Cf. Tacit. Hist. III. 71. Liv. V. 46. Plut.

Clivus Ca-
pitolinus.

Camill.) 2d, The Clivus Capitolinus, which began from the arch of Tiberius and the temple of Saturn, near the present hospital of the *Consolazione*, and led to the citadel by a winding path.

Utque levis custos, armillis capta Sabinis,

Ad summæ Tatium duxerit arcis iter.

Inde, velut nunc est, per quem descenditis, inquit,

Arduus in valles, et fora clivus erat.

OVID. FAST. I. 261.

Clivus
Asyli.

3d, The Clivus Asyli, which being less steep than the other two, was on that account the road by which the triumphant generals were borne in their cars to the Capitol. This ascent began at the arch of Septimius Severus, and from thence winding to the left, passed^f near the ruined pillars of the temple of Concord, as it is commonly but improperly called, and from thence led to the Intermontium.

Ædes Jo-
vis To-
nantis.

The Clivus Capitolinus, besides being lined with porticoes, (Tacit. Hist. III. 71.) presented to the eye several public buildings of note; such as the temple of Jupiter Tonans, of which three pillars, together with part of the frieze and cornice, are, as it is generally agreed, still to be seen at the foot of the Capitol. We learn from Suetonius, that Augustus erected this edifice to Jupiter after his litter had been struck by lightning at night in an expedition against the Cantabri, and one of his attendants had been killed. (August. 29.) Pliny speaks of several

^f The direction of these ascents has been now certified by means of late discoveries.

statues belonging to this temple. (XXXIV. 2. and 8.) The temple of Fortuna Primigenia. (Liv. XLIII. 13.) It may be inferred from Cicero, that Annii Milo had a house in this part of the city. (Orat. pro Mil.)

Templum
Fortunæ.

Domus T.
Annii Mi-
lonis.

The Capitoline hill is said to have been previously called Saturnius, from the ancient city of Saturnia, of which it was the citadel. Afterwards it was known by the name of Mons Tarpeius, and finally it obtained the appellation first mentioned, from the circumstance of a human head being discovered on its summit in making the foundations of the temple of Jupiter. (Varr. IV. 8.) It was considered as forming two summits, which, though considerably depressed, are yet sufficiently apparent. That which looked to the south and to the Tiber was the Tarpeian rock, or citadel; the other, which was properly the Capitol, faced the north and the Quirinal. The space which was left between these two elevations was known by the name of Intermontium.

Intermon-
tium.

It was on this part of the Capitoline mount that Romulus established his Asylum, which appears to have been an enclosure formed by a thick plantation of trees and underwood, having a small temple within, consecrated to some unknown divinity^g. (Dion. Hal. II. 15. Liv. I. 4. Strab. V. 230^h.)

Asylum.

^g Perhaps Vejovis, a god of whose character and office the Latins seem to have had no determinate notion. (Ovid. Fast. III. 429. Aul. Gell. V. 12.) It is probable that the worship of Vejovis ought to be referred to the Tuscans. (Amm. Marcell. XVII. 19.)

^h This custom of affording

shelter to criminals and run-aways, appears to have been common to other cities of Latium besides Rome. It was probably introduced into Italy by the Pelasgi, who must originally have derived it from the east, where we know that it prevailed as early as the time of Moses. (Numb. XXXIII. 13.)

Porticus
Nasicae.
Arcus
Neronis.
Tabula-
rium.

From the Intermontium two paths led to the two summits on each side of it. (Dion. Hal. loc. cit.) Part of the Intermontium consisted of an area, in which was placed a portico constructed by Scipio Nasica; (Vell. Paterc. II. 3.) the arch of Nero; (Tacit. Ann. XV. 18.) and the Tabularium, or Record Office, in which all the decrees of the senate or people, relative to the grant of privileges, charters of companies, &c. were registered. These instruments were inscribed on tables of brass, and Vespasian is said to have restored 3000 of them which had been injured by fire. (Suet. Vesp. 8.) Virgil perhaps alludes to this building when he says,

..... nec ferrea jura,
Insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.

GEORG. II. 501.

Bibliotheca
Capitolina.

Athenæ-
um.

Atrium
Publicum.

Some remains, as it is generally supposed, of this edifice, may be still seen under the senatorial palace of the *Campidoglio*, to which they serve as a sort of foundation. Contiguous to the Tabularium were perhaps a public library, the origin of which is uncertain, (Oros. VII. 16. Euseb. Chron.) and an Athenæum, established by Hadrian, where orators and poets were admitted to recite their compositions. (Aur. Vict. vit. Hadr. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 34.) Also a hall for the use of public meetings. (Liv. XXIV. 10.)

It has been a matter of no little discussion among the earlier antiquaries of Rome, to determine which summit of the Capitoline hill contained the Tarpeian fortress, and which the Capitol, properly so called; but Nardini is of opinion that the former answers to the height now called *Monte Caprino*, which overlooks

the Tiber, and the latter to the site occupied by the modern church of *Araceli*. A still greater difficulty presents itself in ascertaining to which summit we ought to refer the celebrated temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Here again however I think it safer to follow Nardini, who, after examining all the arguments for and against the point in question, decides that the temple was on the Capitol, or the side opposite to the citadel. The chief argument in favour of the opinion he maintains is, that the Tarpeian summit would have been too confined a site for so considerable a building, besides the difficulty of laying a foundation sufficiently solid on such a rocky base. It is true we are told that the greatest labour and expense were incurred in preparing the foundations of the temple, but this was owing rather to the inequality of the ground than to its hardness, an inconvenience which it was necessary to remedy by raising the lower parts to a level with the higher, and supporting them by a massive pediment of stonework, (Dion. Hal. V. 61.) of which structure there is no appearance on the south side of the hill. This celebrated temple, according to the ancient author above Templum Jovis Capitolini. cited, occupied a space of about eight plethra, or eight hundred feet, in circumference. Its length and breadth were nearly equal, being about two hundred feet. The front, which was adorned with a portico of three rows of pillars, looked to the south. The interior was divided into three cells, that of Jupiter being in the centre, those of Juno and Minerva on each side; originally planned by Tarquinius Priscus, who scarcely lived to see the foundations completed: it was terminated by Tarquinius Superbus. This edifice was consumed by fire in the civil wars of Ma-

rius and Sylla, but restored by the latter, who adorned it with the pillars belonging to the temple of the Olympian Jove, which he brought from Greece. (Plin. XXXVI. 6.) It was again burned in the reign of Vitellius, and repaired by Vespasian, and was rebuilt a third time after a similar accident by Domitian, with pillars of Pentelic marble brought from Athens. The same emperor caused the roof to be gilded on the outside, which cost the vast sum of 12,000 talents. (Plut. vit. Publ.) Within was the statue of Jove sitting on his throne grasping the thunderbolt in his right hand, and holding a spear in his left. This image had been originally made of baked clay, by an artist of Fregellæ, a city of the Volsci. (Plin. XXXV. 12.)

Jupiter angusta vix totus stabat in Æde;
Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.

OVID. FAST. I. 202.

But subsequently it was formed of gold; though we are not told at what period this change took place. Pliny, on whose authority this fact principally rests, informs us that this costly statue no longer existed in his day, having been consumed by fire. (VII. 39.) In the time of Martial, the effigy of Jupiter was gilt, as were also the images of Juno, and Minerva.

Scriptus es æterno nunc primum, Jupiter, auro.
Et soror, et summi filia tota patris.

MART. XI. EP. 5.

In the same cell was a statue of Scipio Africanus. (Val. Max. VIII. 15.) The nail, which was fastened every year outside the temple, to mark the lapse of

time, was fixed on the wall contiguous to the chapel of Minerva. (Liv. VII. 3.) Besides this chapel and that of Juno, there were two altars consecrated to Youth and the god Terminus. (Dion. Hal. III. 69.) Underground was a vault which contained the Sibylline books. (Id. IV. 62.) There were also other crypts, called "favissæ," in which were collected all the old statues and ornaments belonging to the temple which had fallen to decay. (Aul. Gell. II. 10.) The pavement was of mosaic, (Plin. XXXIII. 18.) the gates of bronze gilt. On the summit of the roof was a statue of the god Summanus, formed at first in clay, but afterwards in bronze. (Cic. de Div. I. 11. Liv. X. 23.)

Contiguous to this great fabric were several other smaller public buildings, such as the temple of Faith; (Cic. Off. III. 29.) of *Dius Fidius Sponsor*; (Dion. Hal. IX.) and the chapel of *Jupiter Conservator*, erected by Domitian. (Tacit. Hist. III. 74.)

It has been stated, that the other summit of the Mons Capitolinus is generally styled, in the ancient writers of Rome, the Tarpeian rock, or citadel.

Rupis
Tarpeia.

In summo custos Tarpeia Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat:
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser
Porticibus, Gallos in limine adesse canebat:
Galli per dumos aderant, &c. Æn. VIII. 652.

Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,
Et junget nostro templorum culmina cœlo.
SIL. ITAL. III. 623.

..... juvat inter tecta Tonantis,
Cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantes.
CLAUD. VI. CONS. HON. 44.

Curia Calabra.

Casa Romuli.

It is certain, however, that we find the name of Capitolinus applied as often to this part of the hill as to the other, on which I have supposed, with Nardini, that the temple of Jupiter was situated. On this summit was the Curia Calabra, where the people was convened by the Pontifex Minor on certain occasions: (Varr. V. 4. Macrob. Sat. I. 15.) and contiguous to it the thatched cottage of Romulus:

Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.

ÆN. VIII. 654.

Ædes Junonis Monetae.

Ædes Concordiæ.

Ara Jovis Pistoris.

(Vitruv. II. 1. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 9.) also the house of Manlius Capitolinus, which being pulled down after his death, made way for the temple of Juno Moneta, which was erected on the same site: (Liv. VI. 20.) likewise a temple of Concord: (Liv. XXII. 33.) an image of Jove, which could be seen from the Curia and the rest of the Forum: and an altar consecrated to Jupiter Pistor, to commemorate the stratagem of the Romans, who, when besieged in the Capitol, threw loaves into the camp of the Gauls, in order to deceive them as to the real state of distress to which they were reduced.

Nomine, quam pretio celebratior, arce Tonantis,
Dicam Pistoris quid velit ara Jovis.

OVID. FAST. VI. 349.

Templum Jovis Feretrii.

(Liv. V. 48. Lactant. I. 20.) The little temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in which Romulus placed the first spolia opima, is more generally supposed to have stood on the other summit of the Capitoline hill, but Nardini seems to incline to the Tarpeian rock. The vicinity of the supposed house of Romulus might be thought to favour his supposition. It was of very

diminutive size, according to Dion. Hal. (II. 34.)

Livy states, that it was repaired by Augustus. (IV. 20.)

We hear also of temples consecrated to Fortuna Ædes
Primigenia, Obsequens, Privata, and Viscosa; (Plut. Fortunæ
de Fort. Rom.) to Mens, to Venus Ericina; (Liv. Primigeniæ,
XXIII. 30.)—the last deity may perhaps be the Obsequen-
same as the Venus Capitolina of which Suetonius tis,
speaks; (Calig. 7. and 18.) to Ops, (Liv. XXXIX. Privatæ,
22.) Isis, and Serapis; (Tertull. Apolog.) to Mars Viscosæ,
Bisultor, dedicated by Augustus after having reco- Mentis,
vered the standards of Crassus from the Parthians. Veneris
(Dio. Cass. L.) Ericinæ,
Opis,
Isidis et
Serapidis,
Martis Bis-
ultoris.

Templa feres, et me victore vocaberis Ultor.

Voverat; et fuso lætus ab hoste redit.

Nec satis est meruisse semel cognomina Marti;

Persequitur Parthi signa retenta manu.

* * * *

Rite Deo templumque datum, nomenque Bisultor.

Et meritus voti debita solvit honor.

OVID. FAST. V. 577.

Having now taken a rapid view of the ancient edifices situated on and about the Capitol, before I conclude the description of this region, I must say a few words on the Tullianum, or the Mamertine Tullianum
prison, as it is sometimes called. It was begun, as Carcer.
we learn from Livy, by Ancus Martius, and afterwards completed and enlarged by Servius Tullius, from whom it obtained the name of Tullianumⁱ; the same historian informs us that it was in the centre of the city, and overlooked the Forum. (I. 33.) It is accurately described by Sallust. (Bell. Catil. 55.) In later times we find this place of confinement styled

ⁱ The Tullianum, properly built under ground. (Varr. IV. speaking, was the lower prison, 32. Liv. XXXIV. 44.)

the Mamertine prison, a name, the origin of which is quite uncertain, as it never occurs in any classical author^k.

The Tullianum appears to have been for a long time the only prison in Rome;

Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
Sæcula, qui quondam sub regibus atque Tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.

JUV. SAT. III. 312.

and though others were afterwards added, it was exclusively reserved for state prisoners. It was here that Jugurtha was starved to death. (Plut. C. Mar.) Tradition also reports that St. Peter was confined in the Mamertine prison previous to his martyrdom. Close to this spot were the Scalæ Gemoniæ, or steps down which the bodies of those who had been executed in prison were thrown into the Forum, to be exposed to the gaze of the multitude. (Val. Max. VI. 9. Liv. XXXVIII. 59. Dio. Cass. LIX.)

Scalæ Ge-
monia.

In the vicinity of the Capitol and Forum we may place the first house of Augustus, (Suet. August. 72.) and those of Ovid.

Domus
Augusti.
Domus
Ovidii.

..... et adhuc Capitolia cernens,
Quæ nostro frustra juncta fuere lari.

OVID. TRIST. I. EL. 3.

Domus C.
Marii.
Ludus
Æmilii.

and Marius. (Plut. C. Mar.) and finally the Ludus Æmilii, to which Horace alludes,

Æmilium circa ludum faber imus, et ungues
Exprimet, et molles imitabitur ære capillos,
Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
Nesciet.

ART. POET. 32.

^k See an ingenious conjecture on the origin of this name in Burton's Ant. of Rome, p. 31.

REGIO NONA.

CIRCUS FLAMINIUS.

The ninth region seems to have stood almost entirely without the walls of Servius, being confined principally by the Tiber on the west and north, the Capitol on the south, and the Pincian hill on the east. It was by much the most extensive of the fourteen regions, being upwards of 30,000 feet in circuit. It comprised the celebrated Campus Martius, which in the reign of Augustus already contained several splendid edifices. Beginning from the Porta Carmentalis on the confines of the region last described, we may first notice the portico of Octavia, of which some noble remains exist, close to the church of *S. Angelo in Pescaria*. We are told that this structure was raised by Augustus, and intended to serve as a colonnade to two temples, which he caused to be built at the same time with the spoils of the Dalmatians, in honour of Jupiter and Juno. (Suet. Aug. 29. Dio. Cass. XLIX.)

Porticus
Octaviæ.

Ædes Jo-
vis.

Ædes Ju-
nonis.

According to Pliny, the two architects of these temples were both Lacedæmonians, named Saurus and Batrachus; who, in order to hand down their fame to posterity, sculptured in the volutes of the columns the two animals, which in the Greek language answer to their names. (Plin. XXXVI. 5.) Attached to the portico above mentioned, were also Schools, a Curia, (Plin. loc. cit.) and a Library. (Plut. Marc.) All these buildings sustained considerable damage from fire in the reign of Titus. (Dio. Cass. LXVI.)

Schola,
Curia,
Bibliotheca
Octaviæ.

It should be observed, that previous to these works

Porticus
Metelli.

erected here by Augustus and Octavia, there already existed a portico constructed by Metellus Macedonicus, who brought several statues from Greece executed by the most famous artists of that country.

Delubrum
Apollinis.

(Vell. Paterc. I. 11.) The temple of Apollo, which Pliny mentions as being close to the portico of Octavia, and as adorned with several statues of this description, was probably the work of the same Metellus, and the first edifice of marble which had hitherto been seen in Rome. (Plin. loc. cit. Vell. Paterc. loc. cit.)

Theatrum
Marcelli.

The theatre of Marcellus, of which considerable remains are yet visible, was constructed by Augustus in honour of his nephew, (Plut. Marc.) on the site

Templum
Pietatis.

of an ancient temple which was consecrated to Piety; in commemoration of a Roman woman who supported her aged parent when in prison with her own milk. (Plin. VII. 36. Fest. v. Pietas.) The prison

Carcer
App. Claudii.

mentioned in this anecdote is said to have been that which was made by Appius Claudius, the Decemvir, where he himself afterwards paid the forfeit of his crimes. (Plin. VII. 36.) Its situation seems pointed out by the present church of *S. Nicolo in Carcere*.

Ædes
Apollinis.

Near the Porta Carmentalis was an ancient temple of Apollo, the first erected to that divinity in Rome on the occasion of a great pestilence which ravaged the city, A. U. C. 330. (Liv. IV. 29. VII. 20.) From the same historian we learn that the senate was sometimes convened here to deliberate on the claims made by commanders to the honours of the triumph. (III. 63.)

Circus Fla-
minius.

The Circus Flaminius, from which this region derived its name, is said to have been erected by

C. Flaminius, the consul, who perished at the battle of the Trasymene: (Fest. v. Flamin. Liv. Epit. XX.) but it appears from Livy (III. 25.) and Plutarch, (Prob. Rom.) that the ground on which it stood was already called Prata Flaminia; and according to the former, a Circus named Apollinaris existed there long before the time of C. Flaminius. (III. 31.)

Near the Flaminian Circus was the temple of Bellona, in front of which it was usual to declare war against any power by the throwing of a spear.

Ædes Bellonæ.

Prospicit a templo summum brevis area Circum.

Est ibi non parvæ parva columna notæ.

Hinc solet hasta manu, belli prænuncia, mitti;

In regem et gentes, cum placet arma capi.

OVID. FAST. VI. 205.

The temple of Bellona was erected A. U. C. 457. by Appius Cæcus, in fulfilment of a vow made by him during a war with the Etruscans and Samnites. (Liv. X. 19.) It was here that the senate usually met to receive deputations from hostile powers, and from those generals who demanded the triumph. (Plut. Scip. Liv. passim.) In the same vicinity was a temple of Hercules built by Sylla,

Ædes Herculis.

Altera pars Circi Custode sub Hercule tuta est;

Quod Deus Euboico carmine munus habet.

Muneris est tempus, qui Nonas Lucifer ante est:

Si titulos quæris; Sylla probavit opus.

OVID. FAST. VI. 209.

and another raised to the same demi-god, entitled Musagetes, by Fulvius Nobilior, the conqueror of the Ætolians. (Cic. Orat. pro Arch. 11. Plut. Prob. Rom. 59.) We hear also of the altar of Neptune, (Liv. XXVIII. 11.) of the temple of Juno Regina,

Ædes Herculis Musagetæ.

Junonis Reginae,

Dianæ,
Castoris.
Delubrum
Cn. Domi-
tii.

and of Diana, (Id. XL. 42.) of Castor, (Vitruv. IV. 7.) and of a temple consecrated by Cn. Domitius, in which were several statues of marine gods and animals of beautiful workmanship. (Plin. XXXVI. 5.) From Macrobius (Saturn. III. 4.) we may infer that the latter was dedicated to Jupiter Stator.

Theatrum
Pompeii.

The theatre of Pompey is generally supposed to have stood in that part of the modern city now called *Campo di Fiore*. It was the first permanent building of the kind constructed in Rome. Pompey, as it is reported, from the fear of being thought guilty of introducing too great an innovation, styled his theatre, on its first exhibition, a temple; but there was in fact an edifice of that nature attached to this fabric, designed only for pleasure. (Aul. Gell. X. 1. Tertull. de Spect.) This theatre was erected by Pompey, probably after the termination of the war against Mithridates; it was formed on the model of that of Mitylene, but on a larger scale. (Plut. vit. Pomp. Plin. VII. 3.) In the reign of Tiberius, this building suffered considerably from fire, but was repaired by Caligula. (Tacit. Ann. III. 72. Suet. Calig. 21.) Nero caused it to be gilded in one day, on the occasion of a visit from Tiridates, king of Armenia. (Plin. XXXIII. 3.) Cassiodorus informs us, that it still existed entire in his time, having been restored by king Theodoric. (IV. Epist. 51.)

Porticus
cum Curia
Pompeii.

Around the theatre were other edifices, two of which were likewise erected by Pompey; viz. a portico, (App. Bell. Civ. II. 147. Vitruv. V. 9.) and the Curia, in which Cæsar was assassinated on the Ides of March, when he fell at the feet of his former rival's statue. (Suet. Cæs. 81. and 88. Plut.

Cæs.) Near these were the Corinthian portico of ^{Porticus} Octavius, who obtained the honours of a naval tri- ^{Cn. Octa-}umph in the war against Perseus. (Fest. v. Octav. Vell. Paterc. II. 1.) An arch erected to Tiberius by ^{Arcus Ti-} Claudius, (Suet. Claud. 12.) and the portico of Philip, ^{berii.} in which were several works of Grecian art men- ^{Porticus} tioned by Pliny. (XXXV. 10.) Martial alludes to ^{Philippi.} this structure, and to a temple or statue of Hercules ^{Templum} Custos, which must have stood near it. ^{Herculis} ^{Custodis.}

Vites censeo porticum Philippi,
Si te viderit Hercules, peristi.

V. EP. 50.

If we now advance towards the Campus Martius, we shall find in that direction the numerous splendid buildings which Agrippa caused to be erected under the patronage of Augustus. The first which naturally presents itself to our notice is the celebrated Pantheon, said to have been built after the battle of ^{Pantheon} Actium, and dedicated, as its name implies, to all ^{Agrippæ.} the gods; unless we suppose with Dion. Cassius, (LIIL.) that it was so named from the convexity of the roof, corresponding in its appearance with the form of the heavens. So much remains of this noble edifice, that it will not be necessary to enlarge upon it here. Pliny informs us that it was decorated with Cariatides, the work of Diogenes the Athenian. (XXXVI. 5.) The Pantheon was repaired by several emperors, especially by Hadrian, Sept. Severus, and M. Aurelius, as we learn from the inscription over the portico. (Spartian. Hadr. 19. and Capitol. Anton. 8.) Contiguous to the Pantheon were the baths and ^{Agrippæ} gardens which Agrippa at his death bequeathed to ^{Therma,} the people. (Dio. Cass. LIV.) We are told, that ^{Horti,}

Stagnum. within the gardens there was a considerable piece of water supplied by the Aqua Virgo, which Nero seems to have applied to the purposes of naval shows and entertainments. (Tacit. Ann. XV. 37. Suet. Ner. 27.) Part of this reservoir was distinguished by the name of Euripus. (Strab. XIII. 851. Front. de Aquæd.) Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of a temple consecrated to Good Fortune as being near the baths of Agrippa. (XXIX.)

Templum
Bonî
Eventus.

Campus
Martius.

The Campus Martius, as we learn from Livy, was land which belonged formerly to Tarquin, but which, being confiscated with the remaining property of that king after his expulsion, was dedicated to Mars: (II. 5.) but Dionysius affirms, that it had been consecrated before, but having been seized by Tarquin, was recovered afterwards by the people. (V. 13.) And this account is more probable, as Festus quotes a law of Numa in which mention is made of the Campus Martius; (v. Solitauril.) and Livy himself seems to allow the name to be as ancient as the reign of Servius Tullius. (I. 44.)

In the Latin poets, we generally find it designated under the simple name of Campus.

Tunc ego me memini ludos in gramine Campi
Adspicere— OVID. FAST. VI. 237.

Tot jam abiere dies, cum me, nec cura theatri,
Nec tetigit Campi, nec mea musa juvat.
PROPERT. II. EL. 13.

In the reign of Augustus, when the city had extended itself far beyond the lines of Servius Tullius, a great part of the Campus Martius was enclosed and occupied by public buildings, more especially by the great works of Agrippa just described. A con-

siderable expanse of meadow was left open, however, at that time, as we learn from Strabo, who has accurately described its situation and appearance. (V. 236.) It was here that the Roman youth engaged in martial sports and exercises, while the neighbouring waters of the Tiber afforded them a salutary refreshment after their fatigue.

Tunc ego me memini ludos in gramine Campi
Adspicere, et didici, lubrice Tibri, tuos.

OVID. FAST. VI. 237.

Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
Æque conspicitur gramine Martio.

HOR. OD. III. 7.

Altera gramineo spectabis Equiria Campo,
Quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis.

OVID. FAST. III. 519.

Strabo, in the passage before cited, informs us, that the Campus Martius was surrounded by many porticoes and sumptuous buildings. These were principally the structures erected by Agrippa. In times posterior to the age of the geographer, we find that Nero constructed baths in this part of the city, of which some remains were extant when Biondo and Marliano, and other early antiquaries, wrote their descriptions of Rome. Both Martial and Statius, among the ancients, attest their existence.

Thermæ
Neronis.

..... quid Nerone pejus?
Quid Thermis melius Neronianis?

MART. VII. EP. 34.

..... fas sit componere magnis
Parva, Neronea nec qui modo lotus in unda
Hic iterum sudare negat.

STAT. SILV. I. 5.

Circus
Alexandri.

These baths, having been afterwards repaired and enlarged by Alexander, took their name from that emperor. (Lamprid. Alex. 24.) The same prince is said by Rufus and Victor to have erected a Circus adjoining the baths: and as antiquaries are agreed in supposing that the modern *Piazza Navona* was once an establishment of this kind, it is most probable that it occupies the site of the Circus above mentioned. The popular notion is, that the name of *Navona* is a corruption of *Agonalis*; but though we hear of sports termed *Agonales*, there is no authority for admitting the existence of a Circus of that name.

Mauso-
leum Au-
gusti.

On the north side of the Campus Martius, and close to the Tiber, was the Mausoleum of Augustus, which Strabo describes “as raised to a considerable “elevation on a foundation of white marble, and “covered to the summit with evergreen plantations: “a statue of Augustus surmounted the whole. “Within the Tumulus were sepulchral chambers, “containing his remains, and those of his relations “and most intimate friends. The ground behind “the Mausoleum was laid out in groves and walks, “which had an admirable effect.” (V. 236.) Here were first deposited, as may be inferred from Virgil, the ashes of the youthful Marcellus,

Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus! vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, quum tumulum præterlabere recentem!

ÆN. VI. 872.

Agrippa, Octavia, and Drusus soon followed, as we learn from a little poem of Pedo Albinovanus, addressed to Livia.

Condidit Agrippam quo te, Marcelle, sepulero,
Et cœpit generos jam locus ille duos.

Vix posito Agrippa tumuli bene janua clausa est,

Perficit officium funeris ecce soror.

Ecce, ter ante datis jactura novissima, Drusus

A magno lacrymas Cæsare quartus habet.

Claudite jam Parcæ nimium reserata sepulcra ;

Claudite, plus justo jam domus ista patet.

To this illustrious assembly of the dead were added the remains of Augustus himself, and afterwards those of Germanicus, as we learn from Tacitus. (Ann. III. 4.)

A lofty obelisk brought from Egypt, by order of Augustus, served as an ornament to the walks of ^{Obeliscus in C. Martio.} the Mausoleum, and was useful also for the purposes of science. Pliny tells us, that it served as a gnomon to a dial of corresponding size, placed on the ground before it. (Plin. XXXV. 15.)

Antiquaries seem divided as to the origin of the name of *Citorio*, given to a low hill on which the Roman courts of law now stand, and which formerly must have been part of the Campus Martius. Nardini and Venuti conceive that the original name was Mons Citatorius, and that it was the spot on which the people stood during the Comitia, when they were cited to come forward and give their votes. Others suppose that the hill in question is entirely artificial, and of more recent date, having been formed, as they say, by rubbish taken out of the excavation which was made for the neighbouring pillar of Antoninus. But the more prevailing opinion seems to be, that it has risen from the ruins of an amphitheatre erected by Statilius Taurus, a friend of Augustus. This edifice was the first of the kind built in Rome, and seems to have been reserved for the exhibitions of gladiators. (Dio. Cass. LI. Suet. Calig. 18.)

Amphi-
theatrum
Statilii
Tauri.

With regard to the Comitia, it is well known that the several centuries, or tribes, on being called by turns to give their votes, were separately placed in an enclosure called *Ovile*, which was at first little better perhaps than its name implied. We find Cicero, towards the close of the republic, speaking of a project of enlarging this enclosure, and decorating it with a marble portico, and other embellishments. (ad Att. IV. 16.) This work, begun by Lepidus, was completed by Agrippa, who gave it the name of *Septa Julia*, in honour of Augustus. (Dio. Cass. LIII.) Adjoining the *Septa* was the *Villa Publica*, which appears indeed to have existed previously; this building was appropriated to several important purposes; it was here that the consuls enrolled the troops; the censors held the census; and foreign ambassadors were lodged and entertained. (Varr. de R. Rust. III. 2. Liv. XXXIII. 7.) The *Villa Publica* is said to have been the scene of a most foul and horrid massacre ordered by Sylla, when no less than six thousand defenceless soldiers were butchered, according to Plutarch. Seneca relates, that during this barbarous execution, the senate was sitting in the temple of Bellona, whence the shrieks and groans of the dying could easily be heard. The assembly being visibly alarmed, the cold-blooded monster, who was then presiding, is said to have recalled the attention of the senate to the business before them, by observing, "These are only a few of the factious, who are put to death by my orders." (I. 12.) Lucan alludes to this scene of carnage, when he says,

Tunc flos Hesperiae, Latii jam sola juvenus,
Concidit, et miseræ maculavit ovilia Romæ.

Septa
Julia.
Villa Pub-
lica.

(Cf. Val. Max. IX. 2. Flor. III. 21. Liv. Epit. LXXXVIII. Strab. V. 249.)

Contiguous to this part of the Campus Martius was the portico of Europa, a fashionable resort of the idle and the rich, as we learn from several passages of Martial.

Vicini pete Porticum Quirini:
Turbam non habet otiosiore
Pompeius, vel Agenoris puella.

XI. EP. 1.

Nil intentatum Seliis, nil linquit inausum,
Cœnandum quoties jam videt esse domi.
Currit ad Europen, et te, Pauline, tuosque
Laudat Achilleos, sed sine fine, pedes.
Si nihil Europe fecit, tum Septa petuntur.

II. EP. 14.

The same poet informs us, that it was adorned with plantations of box.

An delicatæ Sole rursus Europæ
Inter tepentes post meridiem buxos
Sedet, ambulatve liber acribus curis?

III. EP. 20.

Lotus ad Europes tepidæ buxeta recurrit,
Si quis ibi serum carpat amicus iter.

II. EP. 14.

Several other edifices are known to have stood in the Campus Martius, but their precise situation cannot now be ascertained. We hear also of the Bustum, or funeral pile of Augustus, and the other Cæsars. (Strab. V. 236. Herodian. IV.) The Terentus was a spot close to the Tiber, on which was an altar consecrated to Pluto and Proserpine. (Fest. v. Terentum.)

Bustum
Augusti.

Terentus.

Fluminis illa latus, cui sunt vada juncta Terenti,
Adspicit, et sparsas per loca sola casas.

OVID. FAST. I. 501.

The games called *Sæculares* were celebrated here.
(Fest. v. *Sæcular*. Val. Max. II. 4.)

Trina Terentino celebrata Trinocia ludo.

AUSON. IDYLL. XI.

Amphi-
theatrum
Trajani.

An amphitheatre erected by Trajan, which was afterwards pulled down by Hadrian. (Spart. Hadr. Pausan. V. 13.)

Theatrum
Corn.
Balbi.

The theatre of Balbus, built by L. Cornelius Balbus at the desire of Augustus. (Suet. Aug. 29. Dio. Cass. LIV.) A temple dedicated to the Lari Permarini, by M. Æmilius Lepidus, in acknowledgment of a naval victory gained over Antiochus king of Syria. (Liv. XL. 52. Macrobian. Sat. I. 10.)

Ædes La-
rium Per-
marino-
rum.

The Campus Martius is said by some authors to have been appropriated exclusively to the burial of the emperors and their relatives: (App. Bell. Civ. I. 106. Dio. Cass. XLVIII.) but this rule does not appear to have been scrupulously adhered to, or at least the senate reserved to itself the faculty of conceding this honour to such individuals as it desired to favour or reward. We are told that in the time of the republic Sylla was interred there:

Hisne, Salus rerum, Felix his Sylla vocari,
His meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo?

LUCAN. II. 221.

also Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, and wife of Pompey; (Suet. Cæs. 84.) Hirtius and Pansa, the two consuls who fell in battle near *Modena* when opposed to Antony; (Liv. Epit. CXIX.) and subsequently

Britannicus, the brother of Nero. (Tacit. Ann. XIII. 17.) A distinction is sometimes to be observed in ancient writers, of a Campus Martius, major and minor; as in Catullus. (LV. 3.)

Te Campo quæsimus minore,
Te in Circo, te in omnibus libellis.

Strabo also acknowledges two Campi: one was filled with numerous public edifices, which gave it the appearance of a town; whilst the other was reserved for the sports and exercises of the Roman youth. This last, being the most extensive, would be the Campus Major, or Tiberinus, which was said to have been presented to the Roman people by Caia Taratia, or Suffetia, a vestal virgin, to whose memory great honours were paid in consequence. (Aul. Gell. VI. 7. Plin. XXXIV. 6.)

Between the Campus Martius and the Tiber was a road called Via Recta, which is perhaps the same Via Recta. as the Triumphalis; it seems to have followed the left bank of the Tiber, and to have run parallel with the Via Flaminia, and nearly in the same direction as the modern *Strada Giulia*.

Dum repetit sera conductos nocte Penates
Lingonus a Recta Flaminiaque recens.

MART. VIII. EP. 75.

On the eastern side of this road was a portico, Porticus Pompeii. which formed part of the theatre of Pompey, and another styled the portico of a hundred pillars; also some shady walks of plane-trees.

Scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
Porticus aulæis nobilis Attalicis:

Et creber pariter platanis surgentibus ordo,
Flumina sopito quæque Marone cadunt.

PROPERT. II. El. 32.

Tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra,
Cum Sol Herculei terga leonis adit.

OVID. DE ART. AM. I. 67.

Inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis,
Illinc Pompeii dona, nemusque duplex.

MART. II. Ep. 14.

Jupiter
Pompeia-
nus.

A colossal statue of Jupiter, erected by Claudius, was surnamed Pompeianus, from its vicinity to Pompey's theatre. (Plin. XXXIV. 7.) Between the Campus Martius and the Via Flaminia were several buildings of note. The portico of the Argonauts was situated, according to Nardini, on the site of the modern *Piazza di Pietra*.

Porticus
Argonau-
tarum.

An spatia carpit lentus Argonautarum?
An delicatæ Sole rursus Europæ—

MART. III. 20.

Vicini pete Porticum Quirini:
Turbam non habet otiosorem
Pompeius, vel Agenoris puella,
Vel primæ dominus levis carinæ.

MART. XI. 1.

We are informed by Dio. Cassius, (LIII.) that this portico was the work of Agrippa, and commemorative of the naval victories of Augustus. It was dedicated to Neptune, and was adorned with a painting of the Argonauts, from which circumstance it probably obtained its name. Nardini is inclined to think that the magnificent antique colonnade, which serves as a front to the present customhouse of Rome, is a remnant of the structure here mentioned. Others, however, consider it as the temple of Anto-

ninus, of which mention is made by P. Victor, together with the well known column erected in honour of that emperor by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. (Cf. Capitol. Anton. c. ult.) The Septa Trigaria, also in this vicinity, was an enclosure appropriated for the sale and exercise of horses. (Plin. XXIX. 1.) An aqueduct crossed the Flaminian way, near the portico of the Argonauts, and thus conveyed the Aqua Virgo to the baths of Agrippa.

Templum
Antonini
Pii et Co-
lumna.

Septa Tri-
garia.

Qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis,
Et madet assiduo lubricus imbre lapis,
In jugulum pueri, qui roscida templa subibat,
Decidit hiberno prægravis unda gelu.

MART. IV. Ep. 18.

Close to this spot was a temple of Juturna.

Ædes Ju-
turnæ.

Te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, æde recepit;
Hic ubi Virginea campus obitur aqua.

OVID. FAST. I. 463.

And another, sacred to Isis, which Juvenal alludes to. (Sat. VI. 528.)

Ædes Isi-
dis.

A Meroë portabit aquas, ut spargat in æde
Isidis, antiquo quæ proxima surgit ovili.

It appears from Ovid, that the votaries of the goddess were not of the most chaste description.

Nec fuge Niligenæ Memphitica templa juvenæ;
Multas illa facit, quod fuit ipsa Jovi.

DE ART. AM. I. 77.

..... jamque expectatur in hortis,
Aut apud Isiacæ potius sacraria lenæ.

JUV. SAT. VI. 487.

Ædes Serapidis.

This temple, and a neighbouring one of Serapis, were repaired and adorned by Alex. Severus. (Lamprid. 25.)

Ædes Minervæ.

The convent of the Minerva occupies the site of a temple erected to that goddess by Pompey, on his return to Rome loaded with the spoils of the east. A pompous inscription recorded the victories and conquests he had achieved from the Palus Mœotis to the Red sea. (Plin. VII. 26.) There was also

Ædes Minervæ Chalcidicæ.

in this region another temple dedicated to Minerva, with the title of Chalcidica; but this last was built by Augustus. (Dio. Cass. LI.)

Naumachia, Odæum, Stadium, Domitiani.

Between the Via Flaminia and the Collis Hortulorum, or, to speak with reference to modern Rome, between the *Corso* and *Monte Pincio* were several works of Domitian, noticed by Suetonius; a Naumachia, an Odæum, and a Stadium. (Dom. 5.)

Sepulchrum Domitiorum.

The Pincian hill was in great measure occupied by spacious gardens which had belonged to Lucullus, and successively passed into the possession of Messalina, and of Nero and his successors. (Tacit. Ann. XI. 1. Plut. Lucul.) Nero himself is said to have been buried in the tomb of the Domitian family, situated on the declivity of the Pincian hill, where the church of *S^a Maria del Popolo* now stands. (Suet. Ner. 50.)

REGIO DECIMA.

PALATIUM.

The tenth region, as its name sufficiently indicates, occupied the Palatine hill, and consequently was the most ancient part of the city. Although

of little extent, it was remarkable as the favourite residence of the Cæsars, from the time of Augustus to the decline of the empire. It contained also several spots, venerable from their antiquity, and to which the Romans attached a feeling of superstition, from being connected with the earliest traditions of their infant city. Amongst these were the Luper-^{Lupercal.} cal, a cave supposed to have been consecrated to Pan by Evander. (Dion. Hal. I. 32.)

Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
Rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal,
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycæi.

ÆN. VIII. 342.

The Germalus, on which it was said to be situ-^{Germalus.} ated, like the Velian hill, was considered as a distinct summit of the Palatine, and was thought to derive its name from the Latin word *Germani*, owing to Romulus and Remus having been found under the ficus Ruminalis, which grew in its vicinity. (Varr. IV. 8.)

The temple of Jupiter Stator, founded by Romu-<sup>Ædes Jo-
vis Stato-
ris.</sup> lus, at the foot of the Palatine hill. (Liv. I. 12. Dion. Hal. II. 50.)

Inde petens dextram, porta est, ait, ista Palati;
Hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.

OVID. TRIST. III. El. 1.

Tempus idem Stator ædis habet, quam Romulus olim
Ante Palatini condidit ora jugi.

OVID. FAST. VI. 793.

The cottage of Romulus, perhaps the same as<sup>Tugurium
Romuli.</sup> that of Faustulus, near the steps called Gradus<sup>Gradus
pulchri
Littoris.</sup> pulchri Littoris. (Plut. Rom. Sol. 2.) And the<sup>Sacrarium
Saliorum.</sup> sacristy of the Salii, in which were kept the ancilia,

and other sacred relics. (Dion. Hal. II. 70. Val. Max. I. 8. 11.)

Augustus appears to have had two houses on the Palatine: the one in which he was born, and which after his decease was held sacred, was situated in the street called *Capita Bubula*; (Suet. Aug. 5.) the other, where he is said to have resided for forty years, formerly belonged to Hortensius. After the battle of Actium, he decreed that this last should be considered as public property. (Suet. Aug. 72. Dio. Cass. LV. Serv. ad Æn. IV. 410.) In front of it were plantations of laurel and oak:

State Palatinæ laurus; prætextaque quercu
Stet domus; æternos tres habet una Deos.

OVID. FAST. IV. 953.

Arcus Octavii. And perhaps an arch erected by Augustus to his father Octavius. (Plin. XXXVI. 5.) Tiberius made considerable additions to the house of Augustus, which neither in size nor appearance was worthy of an emperor of Rome; and from that time it was named after its new possessor. (Tacit. Hist. I. 77. Suet. Vitell. 15.) Mention is made by more than one writer of a library annexed to this addition made by Tiberius. (Aul. Gell. XIII. 18. Vopisc. Prob. 2.) Caligula augmented still further the imperial palace, and brought it down to the verge of the Forum, connecting it with the temple of Castor and Pollux, which he converted into a vestibule for this now overgrown pile. He also formed and executed the gigantic project of uniting the Palatine and Capitol by a bridge; and concluded by erecting a temple to himself. (Suet. Calig. 22.) But even his folly was far surpassed by the extravagance of Nero, whose golden

Domus Tiberiana.
Bibliotheca.

house extended from the Palatine to the Cœlian hill, and even reached as far as the Esquiline. I shall not attempt to describe this monument of the absurd prodigality of a detestable tyrant. A detailed account of it may be seen in Suetonius (Ner. 31.) and Tacitus. (Ann. XV. 42.) It was not, however, destined to be of long duration; that portion of the building which interfered with the projects of Vespasian and Titus, on the Cœlian, was soon destroyed, and little remained of this huge and glittering palace, except the part which stood on the Palatine hill.

Domitian again, however, renewed and even enlarged the favourite abode of the Cæsars; and such appears to have been the lavish magnificence which he displayed in these works, that Plutarch, quoting a sentence of Epicharmus, compares him to Midas, who wished every thing to be made of gold. (Vit. Publ.) Stripped by Trajan of its gaudy decorations, which were destined to adorn the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (Mart. XII. Ep. 75.) it was afterwards destroyed or much injured by fire under Commodus, (Dio. Cass. Commod.) but was once more restored by that emperor, and further enriched by Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, (Lamprid. Elagab. 8. Alex. Sev. 24.) and almost every succeeding emperor, until the reign of Theodoric. (Cassiod. VII. 5.)

Contiguous to the house of Augustus was a temple ^{Ædes A-}erected by that emperor to Apollo. ^{pollinis.} Ovid and Propertius describe it as a splendid structure of white marble.

Tum medium claro surgebat marmore templum,
Et patria Phœbo carius Ortygia.

Auro solis erat supra fastigia currus,
 Et valvæ Libyci nobile dentis opus.
 Altera dejectos Parnassi vertice Gallos,
 Altera mœrebat funera Tantalidos.
 Deinde inter matrem Deus ipse, interque sororem
 Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat.

PROPERT. II. EL. 31.

Inde timore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
 Ducor ad intonsi candida templa Dei.

OVID. TRIST. III. EL. 1.

Porticus. The portico more especially was an object of admiration; it was adorned with columns of African marble and statues of the Danaïdes.

Quæris cur veniam tibi tardior? aurea Phœbi
 Porticus a magno Cæsare aperta fuit.
 Tota erat in speciem Pœnis digesta columnis:
 Inter quas Danaï fœmina turba senis.

PROPERT. II. EL. 31.

Bibliotheca.

Connected with the temple was a magnificent library, filled with the works of the best Greek and Latin authors. (Dio. Cass. LIII. Suet. Aug. 29.)

Scripta Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo.

HOR. I. Epist. 3.

It contained, according to Pliny, a colossal statue of Apollo, in bronze, of Tuscan workmanship, which was much esteemed. (XXXIV. 7.)

Besides the temple of Apollo, which was the most sumptuous, we hear of several others which were situated on the Palatine. One dedicated to Vesta.

Ædes Vestæ.

Vestaque Cæsareos inter sacrata penates.

OVID. METAM. I.

Another, consecrated to Augustus, by Livia; having been left unfinished, it was completed by Caligula. (Dio. Cass. LIII. LIX. Suet. Tib. 47. Calig. 21.) A temple of Bacchus; of Cybele. Ædes Bacchi.

Flecte vias hac, qua madidi sunt tecta Lyæi,
Et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus. Ædes Cybeles.

MART. I. EP. 71.

It was in front of the latter that the games called Megalesia were celebrated. (Liv. XXXVI. 36. Cic. de Arusp. Resp. 12.) Of Juno Sospita. Delubrum Junonis Sospitæ.

Principio mensis Phrygiæ contermina Matri
Sospita delubris dicitur aucta novis.

OVID. FAST. II. 55.

Of Victory. (Liv. XXIX. 14.) Of Jupiter Victor. Ædes Victoræ.

Occupat Apriles Idus cognomine Victor
Jupiter; hac illi sunt data templa die. Ædes Jovis Victoris.

OVID. FAST. IV. 622.

Of the goddess Viriplaca, whose office it was to settle differences between man and wife. (Val. Max. II. 1. 6.) A temple and altar consecrated to the goddess Febris. (Cic. de Nat. Deor. III. 25. Val. Max. II. 5.) Another, erected by Elagabalus to himself. (Lamprid. 3.) Another of Minerva, to which Martial alludes, Sacellum Viriplacæ.
Templum Febris.
Ædes Minervæ.

Sexte, Palatinæ cultor facunde Minervæ,
Ingenio frueris qui propiore Dei. V. EP. 5.

A chapel sacred to Mutinus Titinus. (Fest. v. Mutin. Lactant. Inst. I. 20.) A temple dedicated to Moonlight. (Varr. IV. 10.) Sacellum Mutini Titini.
Templum Lunæ Noctiluæ.

Besides these numerous public edifices, the Palatine

was crowded with the dwellings of the most wealthy and distinguished Patricians, especially in the last days of the republic. Of these, the most splendid were the houses of Q. Catulus, the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and of L. Crassus, the distinguished orator. (Plin. XVII. 1.) Here lived also the Gracchi, as we learn from Plutarch; and Cn. Octavius, whose house was afterwards demolished by M. Æmilius Scaurus, to make room for a most sumptuous mansion which he erected on the same site. (Cic. Off. I. 39. Plin. XXXVI. 2.) The habitation of L. Hortensius, the celebrated orator, which became afterwards the property of Augustus. (Suet. Aug. 72.) The abode of Cicero, which was burned during his exile, and for the restoration of which he pleaded on his return, was situated on the descent of the hill looking towards the Forum. (Cic. pro Dom. 37. and 39.) It afterwards came into the possession of Drusus. (Vell. Paterc. II. 14.) Cicero had purchased this house of P. Crassus for 35,000 sesterces. (ad Fam. V. Ep. 6.) Contiguous to it was the dwelling of his mortal enemy, P. Clodius. (Cic. de Arusp. Resp. 15. Plin. XXXVI. 15.) Marc Antony lived also on the Palatine, and his abode became subsequently that of Agrippa and Messala. (Dio. Cass. LIII.)

To this region belongs also the Septizonium, an edifice erected by Severus, but the purport and description of which is not well known; (Spart. Sept. Sev. 19.) and the arch of Constantine, which is yet standing in excellent preservation at the foot of the Palatine, on the eastern side of it, and close to the Colosseum.

Domus
Q. Catuli.
Domus
L. Crassi.

Domus
Graccho-
rum.

Domus
Cn. Octa-
vii.

Domus
M. Æmilii
Scauri.

Domus
Hortensii.

Domus Ci-
ceronis.

Domus
Clodii.
Domus M.
Antonii.

Septizoni-
um Severi.

Arcus Con-
stantini.

REGIO UNDECIMA.

CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

The eleventh region was situated, together with the Circus from which it derived its name, in the valley between the Aventine and Palatine hills, the proper name of which was Martia, or Murtia. (Cassiod. V. Ep. 7. Varr. IV. 32. Liv. I. 35.) Vallis
Murtia.

Ad cœlum quoties vallis tibi Murtia nomen
Ducet, Aventino Pallanteoque recessu.

CLAUD. IN STIL. CONS. II. 404.

The Circus Maximus was built, as we learn from Livy (loc. cit.) and Dionysius, (III. 68.) by Tarquinius Priscus. Its length was $3\frac{1}{2}$ stadia, its breadth 400 feet. A deep canal, termed Euripus, surrounded it on three sides; and behind this were porticoes, having shops beneath the arcades, by means of which the spectators of the games might ascend to the stories above, which communicated by galleries with the interior of the Circus. According to Dionysius, (loc. cit.) this vast building was capable of containing 150,000 persons, Pliny says 200,000, and P. Victor even raises the number to 380,000. We must therefore suppose that the area of this structure was considerably enlarged after the time of Dionysius. Cæsar was the first to add to its size; (Suet. Cæs. 39.) and his example was followed by Augustus (Cassiod. V. Ep. 7.) and Claudius. (Suet. Claud. 21.) It appears to have been considerably injured at the time of the great fire under Nero; (Tacit. Ann. XV. 38.) nor is it certain when it was rebuilt; most probably by Domitian. Under Trajan it received a considerable

increase; (Plin. Paneg.) and if the number of spectators given by P. Victor is not exaggerated, it must have been still further aggrandized, but by what emperor we are not informed. Augustus and Constantius caused obelisks, brought from Egypt, to be erected in this Circus. (Plin. XXXVI. 9. Amm. Marcell. XVII. 4.) It was also ornamented by several statues, elevated on columns, and altars. (Liv. XL. 1. Tertull. de Spect.) In the vicinity of the Circus stood several temples. Those of Bacchus, Libera, that is, Proserpine, and Ceres; (Tacit. Ann. II. 49. Dion. Hal. VI. 94.)

Ædes Li-
beri, Libe-
ræ, Cere-
ris.

Ecce procul ternis Hecate variata figuris

Exoritur, lenisque simul procedit Iacchus.

CLAUD. DE RAPT. PROS. 27.

Ædes Flo-
ræ,
Herculis,
Cereris,
Veneris,
Mercurii.

of Flora; (Tacit. loc. cit.) of Hercules, placed there by Pompey; of Ceres; (Vitruv. III. 2.) others also of Venus (Liv. X. 31.) and of Mercury. (Id. II. 14.)

Templa tibi posuere patres spectantia circum

Idibus; ex illo est hæc tibi festa dies.

OVID. FAST. V. 669.

Ara Maxi-
ma.

The Ara Maxima, said to have been erected by Hercules, after the death of Cacus, was also in this vicinity, but close to the Forum Boarium, which belonged to the eighth region. (Tacit. Ann. XII. 24.)

Constituitque sibi, quæ maxima dicitur, aram,

Hic ubi pars urbis de bove nomen habet.

OVID. FAST. I. 581.

Salinæ.

Near the Tiber were some salt works. (Liv. XXIV. 47. Front. de Aquæd. I.)

A little higher up the river was the chapel of the goddess Volupia; (Varr. IV. 34. Macrob. Sat. I. 10.) and that part of the shore on which it stood was termed Pulchrum Littus. (Var. loc. cit.)

Sacellum
Volupiae.

Pulchrum
Littus.

The remains of an ancient edifice, from which the church of *S^{ta}. Maria Egiziaca* has been partly constructed, is generally supposed to belong to a temple of Fortuna Virilis, built by Servius Tullius. (Dion. Hal. IV. 33.)

Ædes For-
tunæ Viri-
lis.

The Argiletum was a street which led from the Vicus Tuscus to the Forum Olitorium and the Tiber. The origin of the name is uncertain. Some accounts derived it from Argus, a friend of Evander, who was said to have been interred there; others from the abundance of argilla, or clay, found in the vicinity. (Varr. IV. 32.) This street appears to have been chiefly tenanted by booksellers :

Argiletum.

Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas,

Cum tibi, parve liber, scrinia nostra vacant.

MART. I. EP. 4.

Quod quæris, propius petas licebit :

Argi nempe soles subire letum.

Contra Cæsar's est Forum taberna,

Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,

Omnes ut cito perlegas poëtas. MART. I. EP. 118.

also by tailors—

Argique letum multus obsidet sutor.

MART. II. EP. 17.

Cicero informs us, that his brother Quintus had a house in the Argiletum. (ad Att. I. 14.)

The Forum Olitorium is commonly allowed to have occupied the site of the present *Piazza Montanara*.

Forum Oli-
torium.

Templum
Jani.

Ædes Pie-
tatis.

Ædes Ju-
nonis Sos-
pitæ vel
Matutæ.
Ædes Spei.

As the name evidently implies, it was originally a vegetable market. (Varr. IV. 32.) Auctions and sales of property seem also to have been carried on here. (Tertull. Apol. 13.) Several public buildings are noticed as being situated in this Forum. A temple of Janus, erected by C. Duilius, and repaired by Tiberius; (Tacit. Ann. II. 49.) a temple dedicated to Piety, by M. Acilius Glabrio; (Liv. XL. 34.) another to Juno Sospita, or Matuta; (Id. XXXIV. 53.) and a fourth to Hope. (Id. XXI. 62.)

REGIO DUODECIMA.

PISCINA PUBLICA.

Piscina
Publica.

The twelfth region was a continuation of the last, between the Palatine and Aventine, as far as the baths of Caracalla inclusively. The Piscina Publica, which gave its name to this section of ancient Rome, consisted of several basins filled with water, to which people resorted for the purpose of learning to swim. (Fest. v. Piscina.)

In Thermas fugio: sonas ad aurem.

Piscinam peto: non licet natare.

MART. III. EP. 44.

It appears from Livy (XXIII. 23.) that public business was sometimes carried on in this part of the city.

The baths of Caracalla were by far the most conspicuous fabric of this region, as their extensive ruins sufficiently attest. They were constructed principally by the emperor whose name they bear, but received some further additions from Elagabalus and Alexander Severus. (Lamprid. Elagab. 17. Alex. Sev. 24.) According to Spar-

tianus, the principal room called *Cella Solearis*, was constructed with such art as to surprise the most able mechanics of the day. Caracalla built also a beautiful street called *Via Nova*^c, leading from *Via Nova*. these baths to the other parts of the city. (Carac. 9.) Very near it were the gardens of Asinius Pollio. (Front. de Aquæd. I. Plin. XXXVI. 5.) In the same vicinity, antiquaries place a temple of Isis, ^{Horti Asiniani.} erected by Caracalla; (Spart. Carac. 9.) another of ^{Templum Isidis.} *Bona Dea*, surnamed *Subsaxana*, from the circumstance probably of this edifice being situated under ^{Ædes Bonæ Deæ Subsaxanæ.} that part of Mount Aventine to which the name of *Saxum* was peculiarly applied.

Est moles nativa; loco res nomina fecit:

Appellant Saxum: pars bona montis ea est.

OVID. FAST. V. 149.

The private dwelling of Hadrian. (Capitol. M. Aur. 5.) The houses of some Parthians, brought to Rome by Sept. Severus. Those of Chilo and Lateranus, favourites of the same prince. (Sext. Aur. Sept. Sev. Spart. Carac. 3.) ^{Domus Hadriani. Domus Parthorum.}

REGIO DECIMA TERTIA.

AVENTINUS.

This region included not only the Aventine, but also the space which lies between that hill and the Tiber. The origin of the name of Aventine seems quite undetermined, though it was currently reported to be derived from *Aventinus Silvius*, king of Alba, who was buried here. (Varr. IV. 7. Liv. I. 2.) One ^{Mons Aventinus.}

^c This street is to be distinguished from the *Via Nova* noticed in the eighth region.

part of this mount was known by the name of
 Saxum. Saxum, as was stated in the description of the last
 Remuria. region; the other Remuria, from Remus, who is said
 to have taken his station there when consulting the
 auspices with a view to founding Rome. (Fest. v.
 Remur.) The ascent to the Aventine was called
 Clivus Pub- Clivus Publicius, having been made by two brothers
 licius. named Publicii, with certain sums of money which
 they had embezzled as Curule Ædiles, and which
 they were compelled to expend in this manner. (Fest.
 v. Public. Varr. IV. 32.) The Publicii are said to
 have erected also a temple of Flora on this site.
 Ædes
 Floræ.

Parte locant clivum, qui tunc erat ardua rupes :

Utile nunc iter est ; Publiciumque vocant.

OVID. FAST. V. 293.

In the same vicinity Roman antiquaries place the
 baths of Decius; (Eutrop. IX. Cassiod. Chron.) a
 Thermæ temple of Diana, which faced the Circus Maximus.
 Decianæ. (Cf. App. Bell. Civ. I. 26.)
 Ædes Di-
 anæ.

Phyllis Aventinæ quædam est vicina Dianæ.

PROPERT. IV. EL. 9.

Quique videt propius magni certamina Circi

Laudat Aventinæ vicinus Sura Dianæ.

MART. VI. EP. 64.

The house of Sura, mentioned by Martial in the
 Domus passage above cited, and who was consul under
 Licinii Nerva and Trajan. (Cassiod. Chron.) And a tem-
 Suræ. ple of Luna. (Liv. XL. 1.)
 Templum
 Lunæ.

Luna regit menses ; hujus quoque tempora mensis

Finit Aventino Luna colenda iugo.

OVID. FAST. III. 883.

Templum That of Juno Regina was built and consecrated
 Junonis
 Reginæ.

by Camillus, after the capture of Veii. (Liv. V. 31.)
 The church of *S^a. Maria Aventina*, which belongs
 to the knights of *Malta*, is supposed to stand on the
 site of an ancient temple sacred to Bona Dea, of ^{Templum}
 which Ovid says, ^{Bonæ Deæ.}

Est moles nativa; loco res nomina fecit:

Appellant saxum: pars bona montis ea est.

Huic Remus institerat frustra, quo tempore fratri

Prima Palatinæ regna dedistis aves.

Templa Patres illic, oculos exosa viriles,

Leniter acclivi constituere jugo.

OVID. FAST. V. 149.

It was restored by Livia.

Livia restituit, ne non imitata maritum

Esset, et ex omni parte sequuta virum.

OVID. FAST. V. 157.

Antiquaries are not agreed on which side of Mount
 Aventine to place the cave of the robber Cacus; but ^{Spelunca}
 that is a question which is too much allied to fiction to ^{Caci.}
 be treated of seriously. I shall leave it to be decided
 by the reader's imagination, after he has perused the
 splendid lines of Virgil on the subject. (*Æn.* VIII.)

The other antiquities connected with this hill are
 the altar of Evander; (*Dion. Hal.* I. 32.) the se- ^{Ara Evan-}
 pulchre of Tatus in a grove of laurels; (*Varr.* IV. ^{dri.}
 32.) the Armilustrum, a place in which soldiers ^{Sepulcrum}
 were exercised on certain holidays; (*Varr.* V. 3. ^{Tatii.}
Plut. vit. Romul.) a temple of Minerva. (*Fest.* v. ^{Armilus-}
Scrib.) ^{trum.} ^{Templum}
^{Minervæ.}

Sol abit e Geminis, et Cancrī signa rubescunt.

Cœpit Aventina Pallas in arce coli.

OVID. FAST. VI 727.

Ara Lav-
vernæ.

The altar of Laverna, the tutelary goddess of thieves, was near the Porta Lavernalis, which is supposed to answer nearly to the modern gate of *S. Paolo*.

Ara Jovis
Elicii.

The altar of Jupiter Elicius, dedicated by Numa, was also on the Aventine. (Liv. I. 20.) At the foot of the hill issued a rivulet, called the fountain of

Fons Pici
et Fauni.

Picus and Faunus, which Ovid describes,

Lucus Aventino suberat, niger ilicis umbra ;
Quo posses viso dicere, Numen inest.
In medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti
Manabat saxo vena perennis aquæ.

OVID. FAST. III. 295.

Ædes Li-
bertatis.

It is not certain on which part of the hill the temple of Liberty was placed. This edifice, which was constructed by the father of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, (Liv. XXIV. 16.) is often mentioned in

Atrium Li-
bertatis.

the history of Rome on account of the hall contiguous to it. That building contained the archives of the censors, and was the place in which those officers transacted a great part of their business. (Liv. XLV. 15.) Having been consumed by fire, it was rebuilt on a much larger scale by Asinius Pollio, who also annexed to it a library, which was the first building of the kind opened to the public at Rome. (Suet. Aug. 29. Plin. VII. 30. and XXXV. 2.)

Bibliothe-
ca.

Nec me, quæ doctis patuerunt prima libellis
Atria, Libertas tangere passa sua est.

OVID. TRIST. III. 71.

Domus
Ennii.

Some private dwellings are also noticed by ancient writers, as situated on the Aventine : amongst these are the houses of Ennius the poet ; (Euseb. Chron.)

of Maximus, who, according to Martial, possessed so many habitations ; Domus
Maximi.

Esquiliis domus est, domus est tibi Colle Dianæ.

VII. EP. 72.

of Gallus, noticed by the same poet ;

Domus
Galli.

Totis, Galle, jubes tibi me servire diebus,

Et per Aventinum ter quater ire tuum.

X. EP. 56.

of Faberius Scriba ; (Vitruv. VII. 9.) and of Vitellius, or rather one belonging to his wife. (Tacit. Hist. III. 70.) Domus Fa-
berii
Scribæ.
Domus Vi-
tellii.

At the foot of the Aventine, and close to the Tiber, were the ancient Navalia, or docks, of Rome. (Fest. v. Naval. Liv. XL. 51.) The river was here adorned with several porticoes, and an Emporium was established outside the Porta Trigemina. (Liv. XXXV. 10. and XLI. 27.) Besides these porticoes, Livy mentions the temples of Hercules, of Hope, and of Apollo Medicus, as being near the Tiber, and in the same vicinity. (XL. 51.) Navalia.
Empori-
um.
Ædes Her-
culis,
Spei,
Apollinis
Medici.

From the catalogue of Victor, we learn that the public granaries of the city stood in this quarter, on account of the convenience probably which the river afforded of landing the wheat which came from Sicily, Egypt, and Africa. Horrea.

Pliny mentions a statue as having been erected in this part of Rome to Minutius, a tribune of the people, for having detected the conspiracy of Sp. Melius, and reduced the price of corn. (XVIII. 3. Liv. IV. 16.) Statua Mi-
nutii.

REGIO DECIMA QUARTA.

TRANSTYBERINA.

The fourteenth and last region of ancient Rome, as its name signified, was situated on the right bank of the Tiber; and contained, besides the space enclosed within the walls of Aurelian, the Janiculum, the Mons, and Campus Vaticanus, and all the ground occupied by the modern city as far as the castle of *S. Angelo*. This part of Rome was at first peopled by the inhabitants of certain Latin cities, removed thither by Ancus Martius. (Liv. I. 33.) Subsequently we find it assigned as a place of security as well as punishment to the turbulent Volsci of Velitræ: (Id. VIII. 14.) Though it seems to have been chiefly frequented by the poorer classes, we hear of some distinguished characters in the Roman history as having gardens and pleasure grounds within its precincts. Of these, the most celebrated were those of Cæsar, which he is said to have bequeathed to the Roman people. (Suet. Cæs. 83. Dio. Cass. XLIV.)

Horti J.
Cæsaris.

Trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Cæsaris hortos.

HOR. SAT. I. 9.

Codeta.

Nauma-
chia.

Near these gardens, and in the ground known by the peculiar name of Codeta, or Campus Codetanus, (Fest. v. Codeta,) was a Naumachia, which Cæsar had caused to be constructed for the purpose of exhibiting naval shows. (Suet. Cæs. 29.) We hear likewise of another Naumachia in this region, formed by Augustus, by means of the Aqua Alsietina. (Front. de Aquæd. I.)

Atque ubi Romuleas velox penetraveris arces,
 Continuo dextras flavi pete Tybridis oras,
 Lydia qua penitus stagnum navale coerces
 Ripa, suburbanisque vadum prætexitur hortis.

STAT. SILV. IV. 4.

Near the gardens above mentioned were two ^{Templa} temples erected to Fors Fortuna, one by Servius ^{Fortis Fortuna.} Tullius, (Varr. V. 3.) the other by Sp. Carvilius, the consul. (Liv. X. 46.)

On this side of the Tiber was the Forum Pisci- ^{Forum} torium mentioned by Livy, (XL. 51.) in which pro- ^{Piscatorium.} bably the Ludi Piscatorii were celebrated every year in June. (Fest. v. Piscator.)

The Janiculum was said to derive its name from ^{Janiculum.} a city founded on its summit by Janus.

Hæc duo præterea disiectis oppida muris,
 Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
 Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem :
 Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.

ÆN. VIII. 355.

Tradition reported that it was at the foot of this ^{Sepulcrum} hill that Numa was buried : and it is said, that many ^{Numæ.} centuries after the death of that king his tomb was discovered by chance, together with several volumes, enclosed in a stone chest. (Liv. XL. 29.)

On the declivity of the Janiculum, and close to the old Aurelian way, were the gardens of Galba. ^{Horti Galbæ.} (Suet. Galb.) Those of Geta, noticed by Victor, may ^{Horti Getæ.} have been near the Porta Septimiana, which was erected by his father Severus ; nearer the Tiber we may place the grove of the goddess Furina, in which ^{Lucus Furinæ.} C. Gracchus is said to have fallen by his own hand, or that of his attendant : (Sext. Aur. Vict. de Vir.

Illustr. 65. Plut. vit. Gracch.) also the grove of Albion. (Fest. v. Albion.)

Insula Tiberina. The *Insula Tiberina* was formed, as Livy reports, by means of some corn, which being cut in the *Campus Martius*, and thrown into the river, remained in the shallow part of its bed; this led to a gradual accumulation of soil and mud, which, being further assisted by the hand of man, became in process of time sufficiently solid to support several buildings and porticoes. (Liv. II. 5. Dion. Hal. V. 13.) The most conspicuous of these was the temple of *Æsculapius*, whose image, under the form of a serpent, was brought from *Epidaurus* to Rome, at the time when that city was ravaged by the plague.

Ædes Æsculapii.

Unde Coroniden circumflua Thybridis alveo
Insula Romulæ sacris adsciverit urbis.

OVID. METAM. XV. 624.

Accepit Phœbo Nymphaque Coronide natum
Insula, dividua quam premit amnis aqua.

OVID. FAST. I. 291.

Ædes Jovis.

Contiguous to it was a temple of Jupiter. (Liv. XXXIV. 53.)

Jupiter in parte est; cepit locus unus utrumque:
Junctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.

OVID. FAST. I. 293.

Ædes Fauni.

This island contained also a temple of Faunus; (Liv. XXXIII. 42.)

Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni,
Hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.

OVID. FAST. II. 193.

Statua J. Cæsaris.
Domus Aniciorum.

a statue of Julius Cæsar, (Tacit. Hist. I. 86. Suet. Vesp. 5.) and the house of the Anicii, who were consuls together under Honorius.

Est in Romuleo procumbens insula Tibri,
 Qua medius geminas interfluit alveus urbes,
 Discretas subeunte freto, pariterque minantes
 Ardua turrigeræ surgunt in culmina ripæ.
 Hic stetit et subitum prospexit ab aggere votum.
 Unanimes fratres junctos stipante Senatu
 Ire forum, strictasque procul radiare secures,
 Atque uno bijuges tolli de limine fasces.

CLAUD. PANEG. IN PROB. ET OLYB. CONS. 226.

The hill which formed the prolongation of the Janiculum towards the north, was supposed to derive its name of Vaticanus, from the Latin word Vates, ^{Vaticanus Mons.} or Vaticinium, as it was once the seat of Etruscan divination. (Fest. v. Vatican.)

..... ut paterni
 Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosa
 Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani

Montis imago.

HOR. OD. I. 20.

The Campus Vaticanus included all the space between the foot of this range and the Tiber. According to Tacitus, the air of this part of Rome was considered very unwholesome. (Hist. II. 93.) Here Caligula formed a circus, in which he placed the great Egyptian obelisk, that now stands in front of St. Peter's ^{Circus C. Caligulæ et Neronis.} ^{d.} (Plin. XXXV. 15.) This circus was afterwards much used by Nero, who had gardens contiguous to it; from hence he viewed the tortures inflicted on the Christians by his orders. (Tacit. Ann. XV. 44.) Nearer the Tiber were the gardens of Domitia, his aunt, in which Hadrian erected a superb mausoleum for himself, in imitation of that ^{Horti Neronis.} ^{Horti Domitiæ.} ^{Moles Hadriani.}

^d Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 232.

which Augustus had constructed. (Dio. Cass. Epit. Hadr. Procop. Bell. Got. III.) The remains of this ancient edifice have long since assumed the appearance of a modern fort, under the name of *Castello S.*

Sepulcrum
M. Aurelii.

Angelo. Some other tombs are likewise noticed in this quarter; such as those of M. Aurelius, (Spart. Sev. 19. Herodian. IV.) Honorius and his wife. (Paul. Diacon. Suppl. ad Eutrop. XIV.)

Prata
Mutia.

The Prata Mutia, or lands which were granted by the senate to C. Mutius Scævola, for his attempt on the life of Porsenna, were on this bank of the Tiber; but beyond that fact nothing is known of their situation. (Liv. II. 13.)

Prata
Quintia.

Those of Quintius Cincinnatus are supposed by Nardini and other Roman antiquaries, to have been situated beyond the castle of *S. Angelo*, and opposite to the port called *Ripetta*.

Horti Julii
Martialis.

On the declivity of the hill now named *Monte Mario*, and which overlooks the Tiber and the *Ponte Molle*, were the gardens of Julius Martialis, described by the poet his namesake.

Juli jugera pauca Martialis,
Hortis Hesperidum beatiora,
Longo Janiculi jugo recumbunt.
Lati collibus imminent recessus:
Et planus modico tumore vertex
Cœlo perfruitur serenior:
Et curvas nebula tegente valles
Soluta luce nitet peculiari:
Purpure leniter admoventur astris
Celsæ culmina delicata villæ.
Hinc septem dominos videre montes,
Et totam licet æstimare Romam,

* * * *

Illic Flaminiae, Salariaeque

Gestator patet, essedo tacente,
 Ne blando rota sit molesta somno,
 Quem nec rumpere nauticum celeusma,
 Nec clamor valet helciariorum.
 Cum sit tam prope Mulvius, sacrumque
 Lapsæ per Tyberim volent carinæ. IV. EP. 64.

Gellius mentions the villa of a poet named **Julius Paulus** in the *Ager Vaticanus*, (VIII. 19.) and **Pliny the younger**, the gardens of **Regulus**, a lawyer. (IV. Ep. 3.) Prædium
Julii Pauli.
Horti Re-
guli Causi-
dici.

Before I quit the subject of Rome, it may not be amiss to give some account of its bridges and aqueducts. The number of the former never appears to have exceeded eight. The most ancient, and also the first in order, if we ascend the river, was the **Pons Sublicius**, so called from its being constructed of wood. (Fest. v. Sublicius.) It was built by **Ancus Martius**, (Liv. I. 33.) but was rendered more celebrated for the gallant manner in which it was defended by **Horatius Cocles** against the forces of **Por-senna**. For some centuries after, this bridge was, through motives of religious feeling, kept constantly in repair with the same materials of which it had been framed originally, without the addition of a single nail for the purpose. (Plin. XXXVI. 15.) This continued, as we learn from **Dio. Cassius**, (LIII.) till towards the conclusion of the republic, when it was rebuilt of stone by the censor **Paulus Æmilius Lepidus**; (Plut. vit. Num.) whence it is also sometimes called **Pons Æmilius**. Pons Sub-
licius vel
Æmilius.

Cum tibi vicinum se præbeat Æmilius pons?

JUV. SAT. VI. 32.

Julius Capitolinus states, that it was repaired by **Antoninus Pius** in marble. (c. 8.)

Pons Pala-
tinus.

Next to it was the Pons Palatinus, now *Ponte di S.^a Maria*, or *Ponte Rotto*. This bridge is said to have been begun by M. Fulvius the censor, and to have been finished by P. Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius, who held that office A. U. C. 611. (Liv. XL. 51.)

Pons Fa-
bricius.

The bridge, which connects the island in the Tiber with the left bank of that river, was anciently known by the name of Pons Fabricius. Dio. Cassius speaks of it as having been built of stone soon after the conspiracy of Catiline; (XXXVII.) from whence it might be inferred, that a wooden one existed previously on the same spot. It is mentioned by Horace.

Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.

II. SAT. 3. 36.

Its modern name is *Ponte di quattro Capi*.

Pons Ces-
tius.

The name of Cestius was given to the bridge which connected the island with the other bank of the Tiber, it is now called *Ponte di S. Bartolomeo*. We are not informed by whom or when it was built; but we learn from an inscription, that it was repaired under the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.

Pons Jani-
culensis.

The bridge immediately above the island is now called *Ponte Sisto*, but its ancient name, as we learn from Victor, was Pons Janiculensis. Report assigns its construction to Antoninus Pius, and an inscription mentions its having been repaired by Hadrian.

Pons Tri-
umphalis.

Next to the Janiculensis was the Pons Triumphalis, of which we have no account in any classical writer; but the piles on which it was raised are said to be still visible when the bed of the river is low. The last bridge now takes its name from the castle of

S. Angelo, in front of which it stands, and is known to have been built originally by Hadrian, after whom it was called Pons Ælius. (Spart. Hadr. 18.)

Pons
Ælius.

The first supply of water which was brought into Rome by means of an aqueduct was introduced by Appius Cæcus the censor; who also laid down the famous road named after him the same year, that is, 442. U. C. (Liv. IX. 29.) This aqueduct commenced between six and eight miles from Rome, on the left of the road leading to Præneste. It was carried on almost entirely underground, till within a short distance of the Porta Capena, by which it entered the city; from thence it was conveyed between the Cælian and Aventine hills, to the Clivus Publicius, at the foot of the latter. (Front. de Aquæd. I.)

Aqua
Appia.

A second aqueduct, for conducting the water called Anio vetus to Rome, was constructed thirty-nine years after, by the censors Manius Curius Dentatus, and L. Papirius Cursor. (Sext. Aur. Vict. de Vir. Illustr.) It was brought from the environs of Tibur, a distance of more than twenty miles, and joined the aqueduct of Appius near the Porta Trigemina.

Anio vetus.

The Aqua Tepula was introduced many years after, that is, 628. U. C. by the censors Cn. Servilius Cæpio and L. Cassius Longinus. Its course commenced about eleven miles from the city, somewhat to the right of the Via Latina, and together with the Aqua Martia, which has already been mentioned; and the Aqua Julia entered the city near the Porta Esquilina by the same aqueduct. Rome was indebted for the latter supply to Agrippa, who con-

Aqua Te-
pula.

Aqua Mar-
tia.

Aqua Ju-
lia.

^c See p. 327.

vayed it by an aqueduct from the lands of Lucullus near Tusculum, where it derived its source. (Front. de Aquæd. I. Dio. Cass. XLVIII.) These three watercourses supplied the Viminal and Esquiline hills, and part of the Cælian.

Aqua Virgo.

The Aqua Virgo was also brought into Rome by Agrippa; its source was near the Via Prænestina, at a distance of about ten miles from the city, which it entered behind the Pincian hill; from thence it was distributed more especially throughout the Campus Martius, and the seventh and ninth regions. (Plin. XXXI. 3. Front. de Aquæd. I.) The Aqua Virgo appears to have been in particular request for bathing. (Plin. loc. cit.)

Quas præceps Anien, atque exceptura natatus

Virgo juvat. —

STAT. SILV. I. 5, 25.

Aqua Alsietina.

The Aqua Alsietina, so called from the Lacus Alsietinus^f, from whence it was conveyed by Augustus a distance of twenty-two miles, appears to have been solely intended for the use of the Naumachia, which that emperor had formed in the fourteenth region. (Front. de Aquæduct. I.)

Aqua Claudia.
Anio Novus.

The aqueduct of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus was the last and most magnificent work of the kind undertaken for the use of the capital. Pliny informs us, that it was commenced by Caligula, and terminated by Claudius. It united two streams, both of which rose near the Via Sublacensis, the Aqua Claudia at a distance of thirty-eight miles, the Anio Novus of forty-two miles from Rome. The Claudian aqueduct entered that city near the Porta *Maggiore*,

^f See p. 235.

and distributed its water to the Cælian and Aventine.

Amongst the works of public utility belonging to Rome, none seem to have excited greater admiration in the ancients themselves than the Cloacæ. And from what remains of the Cloaca Maxima at the present day, we may infer that the praise, which they bestowed on these works, was not unmerited. The structure of this vast Cloaca is universally ascribed to Tarquinius Superbus, though it was planned and commenced by the elder Tarquin. It was intended, together with its different ramifications, to carry off the waters which stagnated in the low grounds near the Forum, with the other impurities of the city. (Liv. I. 16. and 21. Dion. Hal. III. 67.) Pliny expresses his wonder at the solidity and durability of this great undertaking, which, after a lapse of 700 years, still remained uninjured and entire. (XXXVI. 15.) So vast were the dimensions of this Cloaca, that a cart loaded with hay could easily pass under it. (Strab. V. 235.)

Dionysius informs us, that it cost the state the enormous sum of 1000 talents to have the Cloacæ cleaned and repaired. (loc. cit.) We hear also of other sewers being made from time to time on mount Aventine and other places, by the censors M. Cato and Valerius Flaccus, (Liv. XXXIX. 44.) but more especially by Agrippa, who, according to Pliny, is said to have introduced whole rivers into these hollow channels, on which the city was as it were suspended, and thus was rendered subterraneously navigable. (XXXVI. 15. Cf. Strab. loc. cit. Cassiod. Var. Ep. III. 30.)

I shall now conclude this description of Ancient

Rome, with the summary catalogue of its different buildings, monuments, and principal curiosities, as contained in the notice of Publius Victor.

Senatula urbis quatuor. Bibliothecæ Publicæ XXVIII. Obelisci Magni VI. Obelisci Parvi XLII. Pontes VIII. Campi VIII. Fora XVIII. Basilicæ XI. Thermæ XII. Jani XXXVI. Aquæ XX. Viæ XXIX. Capitolia II. Amphitheatra III. Colossi II. Columnæ Coclides II. Macella II. Theatra III. Ludi V. Naumachiæ V. Nymphæa XI. Equi ænei inaurati XXIV. Equi eburnei XCIV. Tabulæ et signa sine numero. Arcus marmorei XXXVI. Portæ XXXVII. Vici CCCCXXIIII. Ædes CCCCXXIIII. Vicomagistri DCLXXII. Curatores XXIIII. Insulæ XLVIMDCII. Domus MDCCLXXX. Balnea DCCCLVI. Lacus MCCCLII. Pistrina CCLIIII. Lupanaria XLV. Latrinæ publicæ XLIIII. Cohortes Prætoriae X. Urbanæ IV. Vigilum VII. Excubitoria XIIII. Vexilla communia II. Castra equitum II.

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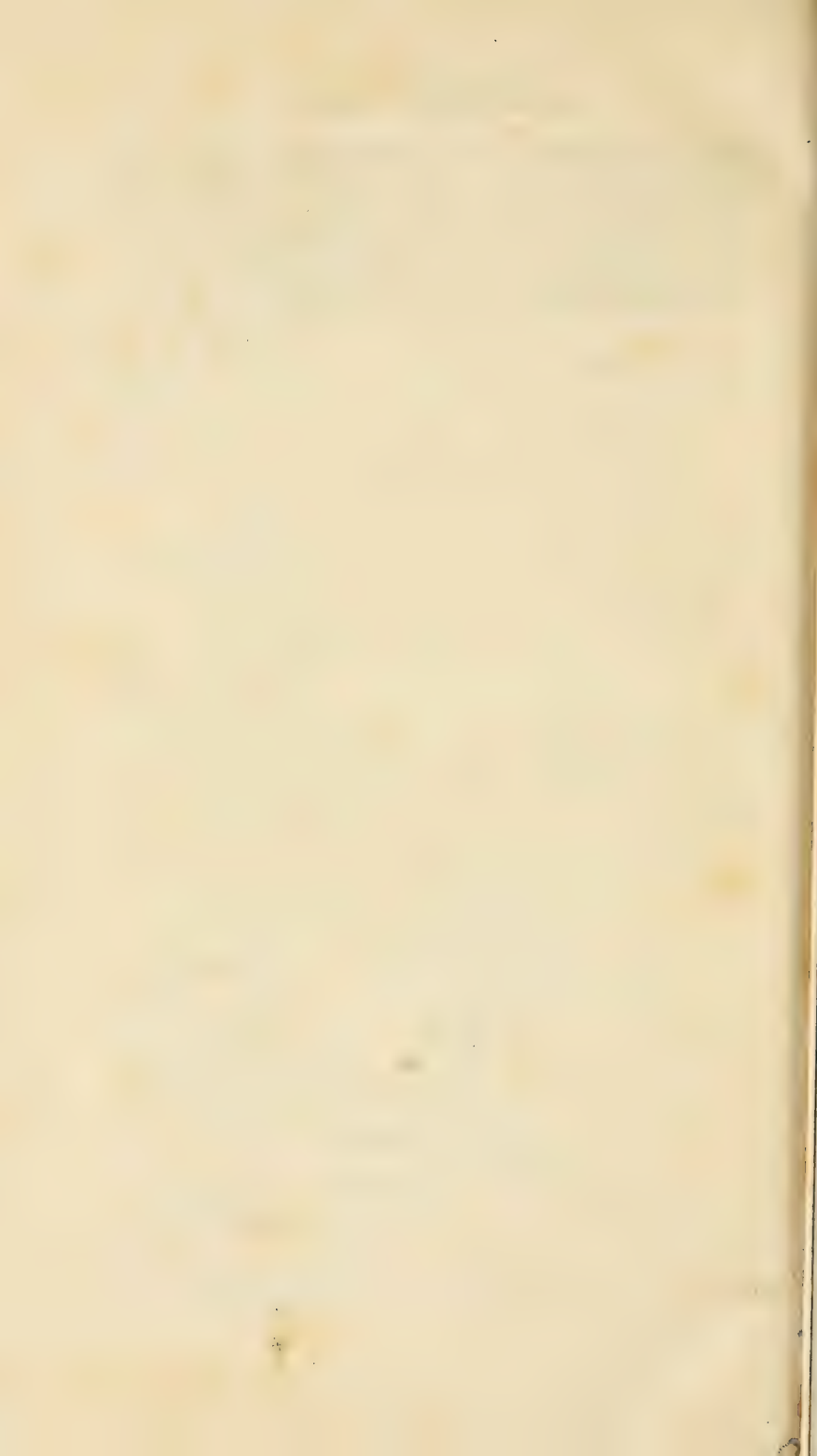
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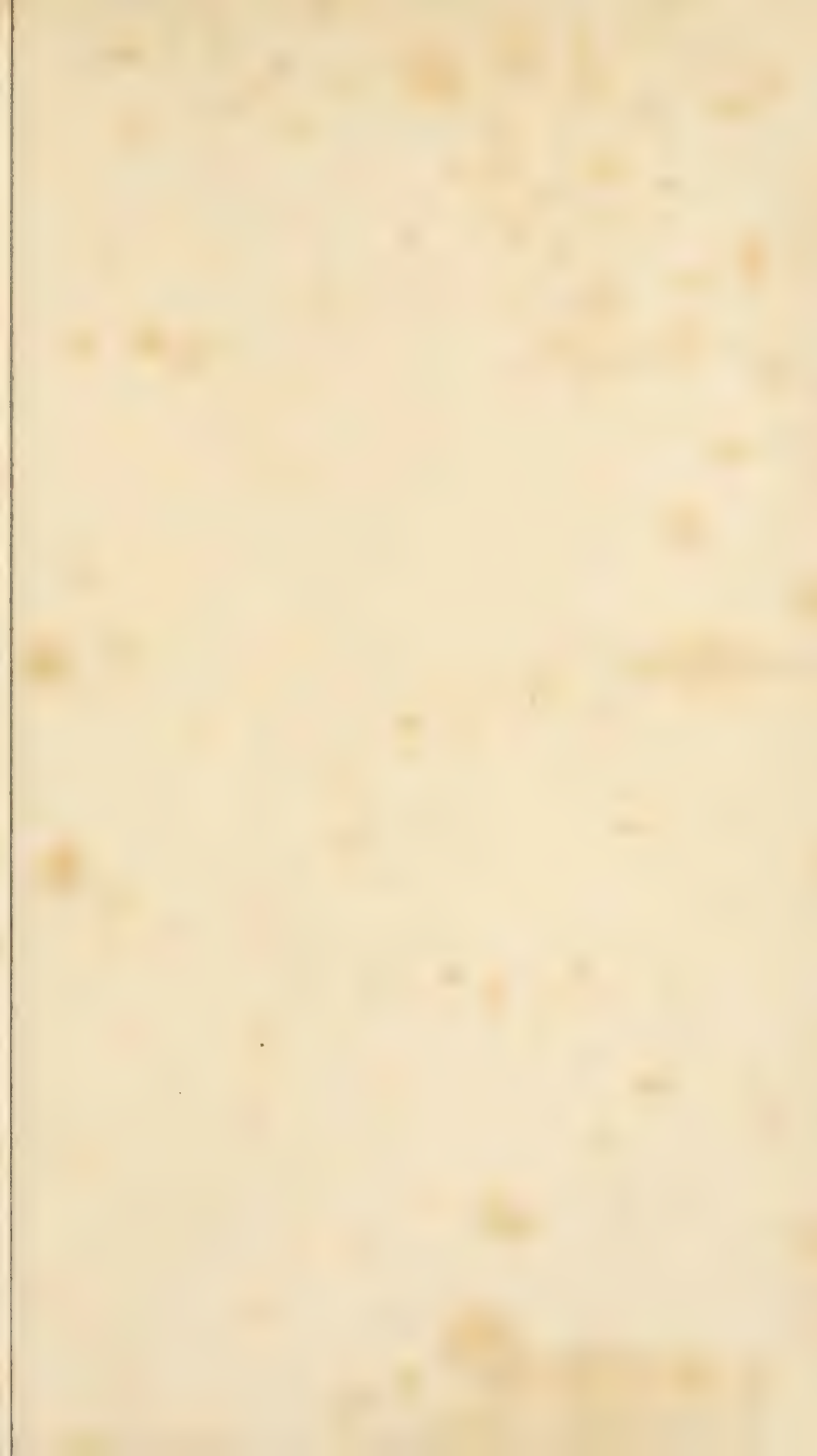
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